

A REFLECTION OF DESIRE: THE COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIP OF
MARCEL MOORE AND CLAUDE CAHUN

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

SCHOOL OF ART

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
WITH A MAJOR IN ART HISTORY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2018

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my mother and father, Linda and Stan, for giving me the freedom to pursue my dreams and have career in photography. You endlessly dragging me to historic houses, museums, and antique stores instilled a love of history that has allowed me to maintain a passion for history and the stories that lie underneath the surface. Without both of you I would not be capable of completing the seemingly impossible task of graduate school

I do not have enough words to express my gratitude to my amazing friend Alexis Hagestad. For years you have always made yourself available to look at my photographs, edit my papers, or talk through a difficult concept. I know that without you I would not laugh as hard as I do. Thank you for being not only a great friend, but a wonderful human being as well.

I also want to extend my appreciation to my professors and mentors from Savannah College of Art and Design, Craig Stevens and Holly Goldstein. Without whom I would not have such a deep-seeded love of the history of photography. Craig, thank you for introducing me to the historic photographic processes. The knowledge you shared on printing processes has allowed me to understand photographs at their most basic level. I appreciate your advice and guidance years after I was your student. Holly, I cannot thank you enough. You were a lifesaver when I was finishing my BFA, along with preparing for graduate school, and you made me feel capable of receiving a master's degree in art history. Having your continuous support throughout the past two years has made a world of difference. Thank you for sharing your love of photography not only with me, but with all your students in the past and for years to come.

To all my friends and professors that I have had the pleasure of meeting and working with while at the University of Arizona, I would like to thank you for making a stressful and intense two years full of joy, laughter, and wonderful memories. To my advisor, Dr. Kate Albers, the experience you have given me has made me confident to pursue a career as a scholar and academic. Your courses have pushed me out of my comfort zone, and forced me to think of photography beyond what I initially understood. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my thesis committee, Dr. Paul Ivey and Dr. Sarah Moore, who have also had a great impact on this research along with my graduate education.

Finally, I would like to thank and acknowledge Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore. The life and work of these two women has been a source of inspiration for over a year, and I feel intimately connected to them. Thank you for living your lives as authentically as possible, and creating work that now extends beyond your lifetimes. Your defiance and deviance from societal pressures has inspired me to live my own life as true to myself, and without apology.

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ABSTRACT

With this thesis I examine a number of works made by the photographer and writer Claude Cahun (1894-1954) alongside her romantic and artistic collaborator Marcel Moore (1892-1972). Through analysis of their artworks, I argue that the identity of “Claude Cahun” is not only a self re-imagination, but is also created from a gaze of desire from Moore through the camera. Examples of Cahun and Moore’s collaborative projects like *Aveux non Avenus* (1930) and *A Soldier without a Name* (1941-1943) provide instances of both women using their individual skills, writing and illustration, to support the other and create a successful final product. Through this research I aim to position Moore as an important component to Cahun’s falsely titled “self-portraits,” and note that their relationship allowed Cahun to fully realize her constructed identity. Building on recent scholarship, this thesis asserts that Moore took an active role in creating the persona viewers see as Claude Cahun.

INTRODUCTION

A photographic self-portrait is typically understood as an individual effort. A singular person acts as both the photographer and the model, and the individuals actively place themselves on display for others to observe. By contrast, the dynamic of a portrait may operate differently. When another person looks through the viewfinder of the camera the model transforms, becoming a symbol of the desire between the subject and the photographer. An example might be Man Ray when he photographs Lee Miller. Man Ray is not only looking at Miller as a photographic object but as an object of his desire. Similarly, the gaze between the photographer and the subject facilitates this viewing of desire.

This thesis will examine a number of works from literary and photographic artists Claude Cahun (1894-1954) and Marcel Moore (1892-1972) that display their intimately collaborative relationship. The two women worked together throughout the mid-twentieth century in Paris and the Isle of Jersey, off the northwestern coast of France, creating introspective and self-exploratory photographs that often accompanied their published written works. Until recently Cahun's photographs were considered to be self-made images coming from her alone. However now there is a growing dialog among scholars who place Moore within the creative equation. By charting this scholarship and building on it by further analyzing Cahun and Moore's collaborative works, I aim to demonstrate that Moore aided in creating the identity of "Claude Cahun" out of desire. In particular, I examine a number of Cahun's "self-portraits" that provide visual evidence of Moore's presence behind the camera, as well as a number of successful projects that combine Cahun's writing and Moore's illustrations and designs proving that Moore was a vital proponent to Cahun's success as an artist.

The two artists collaborated extensively. An analysis of this collaboration brings their intimate and artistic relationship to light. Since her re-discovery in the 1980s, Cahun has been seen as a revolutionary artist who broke through gender stereotypes by capturing her androgynous and fluid personal identity, yet Moore's presence has been overlooked. Building on recent scholarship, this thesis asserts that Moore took an active role in creating the persona viewers see as Claude Cahun. This can be seen in several ways. Visual analysis of specific single photographs shows there is evidence of Moore's presence, and she can no longer be ignored or lost in the shadows. Second, by looking at their collaborative projects, it is evident that the two women demonstrate the mixing of desires: as a number of Cahun's writings are directed to Moore and Moore's use of drawing and photography captures her gaze towards Cahun. Moore activates a space for desire within her photographic process, and in turn aids in the creation of Cahun's identity that is then presented to viewers.

Claude Cahun is the pseudonym for Lucy Renée Schwob, and Marcel Moore is the pseudonym for Suzanne Alberte Malherbe. Both women adopted these names early in their lives and artistic careers, however it can be seen through letters to friends and family that they still referred to them by their birth names. Though the pseudonyms are gender-neutral it is not clear whether they identified as gender non-conforming or used alternative pronouns. For consistency throughout this text I will refer to them as Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore and use the pronouns she/her.

Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore lived within the socio-political context of Europe as it entered the World Wars in the early twentieth century and within the artistic landscape of Surrealist Paris. Cahun and Moore began working individually and collaboratively in France in the early 1910s and continued to produce artworks until Cahun's death in 1954. Their work

consists of photographs, almost entirely depicting Cahun, and writings composed by Cahun herself. At the same time, Moore established herself as a prominent and capable designer and illustrator in her own right. François Leperlier, Honor Lasalle, Abigail Solomon-Godeau and other early Cahun scholars have unanimously described these photographs as self-portraits since little was known about Cahun and her artistic process when the works were rediscovered in the 1980s and 1990s. However, this false identification overlooks Marcel Moore's contributions in the collaborative process. In the first section of this thesis, the biographies of Cahun and Moore are analyzed and we can see that Moore was deeply involved in Cahun's artistic process from the earliest years of their relationship. Publications including: Viviana Gravano's 2009 article "Explorations, Simulations: Claude Cahun and Self-Identity" and Lizzie Thynne's "Indirect Action: Politics and the Subversion of Identity in Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore's Resistance to the Occupation of Jersey" published in 2009, and Claudia Lesselier's article from 1993 "Silenced Resistances and Conflictual Identities" focus on the biography of Cahun alone, or a surface level visual analysis of her photographs to introduce her to readers and usually ignore Moore's involvement.

The following section, "Pseudonyms and Identities: A Process of Naming," looks at the evolution of the pseudonyms that Claude Cahun adopted in the 1910s as she was in the process of creating her identity in conjunction with identity theory to support the argument of Cahun and Moore's constructed identities. Through the adoption of pseudonyms Cahun and Moore oscillate between identities: the names given to them at birth and the ones they created for themselves. George Herbert Mead, an American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist who worked predominantly from 1910 to 1930, quickly became known for popularizing the theory of the self. Mead's theory of the self that can be found in the 1913 article "The Social Self" and in

his 1934 book *Mind, Self and Society*. He notes that the self emerges from various social interactions including observing and interacting with others, internalizing opinions of others, as well as opinions about oneself. Mead theorized the self is not established from birth but developed over time through social experiences, interactions, and activities.¹ Mead's theory and modern identity theory suggests why both Cahun and Moore adopted pseudonyms as well as how "Claude Cahun" is equally a construction of Moore's as it is of Cahun herself.

This thesis looks at three examples of Cahun's 'self-portraits' in an effort to provide substantial evidence in support of the theory that Moore acted as a photographer and played an integral part in creating Cahun's work and persona. *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11) and *Marcel Moore, 1928* (Figure 12) show Cahun, and then Moore, within the same scene but in two separate individual images. These images note that one woman was the photographer while the other was the model, and then each switched roles to create the second image indicating the collaborative and intimate nature of their artistic practice. Cahun's *Duogram Drawing* (Figure 13) from 1919 is a visual representation of how Cahun views her relationship with Moore by combining symbolic elements for each woman into one object. Both *Self-Portrait 1927* (Figure 15) and *Portrait, Isle of Jersey* (Figure 16) provide visual evidence of Moore's presence when the photographs were being made. Moore's subtle reflection in mirrored surfaces suggests that these images are something other than 'self-portraits.' By investigating and contrasting the long-held tradition of "the gaze" in art history, I will contextualize Moore looking at Cahun through the camera. The artistic gaze is typically interpreted as a man looking at a woman, and the relationship between Moore and Cahun shows the importance of a homosexual female gaze that

¹ For more information see: Mead, George Herbert, and David L. Miller. *The Individual and the Social Self: Unpublished Work of George Herbert Mead*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

revises what is known about the artistic gaze. Moore, by looking at Cahun through a lens of desire, is put in an elevated position and creates the image of the person she desires, Claude Cahun. Moore's gaze, in conjunction with the camera, becomes the apparatus that creates and solidifies the identity of "Claude Cahun."

The final chapter examines various projects Cahun and Moore completed together, further demonstrating their collaborative work. Cahun's 1930 publication *Aveux non Avenus*, features photomontages prefacing each of the ten chapters. Moore's construction of the collages is another instance of their collaborative and creative authorship. *Aveux non Avenus* was Cahun's only published book and was released in a single edition of 500 copies, making this an important piece within her artistic career, as well as her larger artistic production alongside Moore. In an excerpt from the text Cahun writes about the combination of their efforts, and the moment they leaned together and hair became intertwined while looking at the same photograph. She continues and identifies that this unity of their relationship allows the image and project to be achieved.² From *Aveux non Avenus*, three chapters' text and photomontages will be discussed and analyzed in order to reveal the construction of Cahun's identity and Moore's role in that construction. With the project fully released at the height of the Surrealist movement in Paris the influence of surrealist ideology on the artwork and writing is evident. This too can be seen as a contributing factor in their need to maintain an alternative identity. Therefore, through their work, they fulfill their 'dream-lives' by making them a reality.

Their final project together, *The Soldier without A Name* (1941-1943), again positions their combined talents at the forefront of the project. The two women faced great oppression

² Claude Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus (Disavowals)*, translated by Susan de Muth (London: Tate Publishing, 2007), 12.

against the Nazi regime, and this effort exists as an emblem of devotion to their ideals and to each other. With Cahun's position as Jewish from her father's family, and Moore's connection to her, both women were placed in danger for their rebellious actions. The Surrealist photographs and writings created by Marcel Moore and Claude Cahun allow for the analysis of the pair's relationship to one another, both artistically and romantically. Scholars typically gloss over Moore's involvement in Cahun's work. However, the omission of Moore can lead to misunderstandings of Cahun's work at its most basic level of the creative process. In a letter to friend Charles-Henri Barbier from September 21, 1952, Cahun describes their photographs as "our photography," or "our amateur efforts" indicating her recognition of Moore's active involvement and equal ownership of the images.³

This thesis presents the importance of the collaboration between the two artists as critical to their artistic production and elevates Moore to a position as an artist equal to that of Cahun. Moore's desire for Cahun, her position as the creator of many of the images, and as a collaborator to many important projects collectively place her as a vital contributing factor to the construction of the identity of "Claude Cahun." With Moore looking at Cahun through the camera she creates the image that is being presented to viewers. Rather than placing all credibility to Claude Cahun for her innovative, controversial, gender-neutral appearance, this thesis argues that Marcel Moore and their relationship is the driving force behind Cahun's presentation. In aiming to expand beyond the redundancies within current scholarship on Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore this thesis will focus on the relationship between the two women, a topic that exists as single sentences trapped within the middle of articles and books. Examples of

³ Claude Cahun, "Letter to Charles Henri-Berbier, September 21, 1952," quoted in Tirza True Latimer, "Entre Nous: Between Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12, 2 (2006): 199.

Cahun's writing and Moore's photography, as well as their projects completed together, will highlight the intricacies of the intimately artistic relationship.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since her death in 1954 the scholarship focused on Claude Cahun has been limited but has become more popular in the last decade. There is a good reason for this initial lack of information. At the time of her death, her status as an outsider and a Jew while living on the Isle of Jersey that was under Nazi control during the 1930s and 1940s resulted in the destruction of a large portion of her letters, diaries, and artwork. What remains of her belongings exists within the Jersey Heritage Foundation on the Isle of Jersey, as the Claude Cahun Archive. Current scholarship on Cahun typically falls into three major categories: her biography, a sexual and gender identity reading, and her position as a surrealist artist.

A chance encounter would elevate Cahun back into a position of public and academic interest after her death. Scholar and art historian François Leperlier became enamored with Cahun's 1934 text *Les Paris sont ouverts* after he happened to come upon it, and soon after discovered what remained of Claude Cahun's photographs and writings. *Les Paris sont ouverts* is a poetic text that attacks the propagandist cultural policies of the Communist party that was gaining traction in France during the 1930s.⁴ Leperlier used the discovery of this text and positioned Claude Cahun to defend surrealism's relevance and argue for the unpredictably subversive powers of poetry, and poetry's use as propaganda.⁵ Since Leperlier's discovery of Cahun scholars have categorized her as an artist, a writer, an activist, a queer icon, and a feminist advocate.

⁴ "Sans Nom: Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore," accessed April 12, 2018, <https://www.jerseyheritage.org/media/PDF-Heritage-Mag/Sans%20Nom%20Claude%20Cahun%20%20Marcel%20Moore.pdf>.

⁵ Siobhan McGurk, "Claude Cahun, Symbolism and Surrealism: The Importance of Historical Contextualization." *History Compass* 10, 1 (2012): 47-48.

It was not until 1992 that Leperlier published his study of Cahun's work, *L'écart et la métamorphose*, and placed the life and work of Claude Cahun within the scope of art historians. For his book, Leperlier utilized Cahun's archive and was first to publish the intimacies of her life and work. *L'écart et la métamorphose* recounts Claude Cahun's life, from her youth in Nantes as Lucy Schwob, to moving to Montparnasse in Paris and becoming involved in many different artist groups. He continues to discuss her work with other Surrealist artists and intellectuals including André Breton, Henri Michaux, Robert Desnos, and others. Leperlier discusses Cahun's autobiographical publication *Aveux non Avenus* and the photomontages, as a daring meditation on narcissism, self-realizing transcendence, and metamorphosis of genres (masculine/feminine, heterosexual/homosexual). *L'écart et la métamorphose* presents itself as a biography and monograph of Cahun and her literary and photographic works. Since this publication, Leperlier has become the premier scholar on Cahun and her work and is cited in nearly every article and book discussing her life and work.

Notable feminist art historians Honor Lasalle and Abigail Solomon-Godeau published the article "Surrealist Confession: Claude Cahun's Photomontages" in 1992. In their article, Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau discuss elements within the photomontages that appear in *Aveux non Avenus*, along with and the surrealist ideologies that are found within them. Similar to many of the early scholarship on Cahun the article focuses mainly on her biography and photographic works. Another issue is that even though Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau do acknowledge the collages were made by Moore they focus on the content of the images - Cahun.

In 1993, with new interest in Cahun the Isle of Jersey Heritage Site used the Claude Cahun archive to organize an exhibition of her work. The exhibition was the first that features a comprehensive look at Cahun's work, and since then there have been multiple exhibitions across

Europe and the United States solely showing Cahun's photographs.⁶ Cahun had exhibited once during her lifetime at the International Surrealist Exhibition in 1936 in London. There one of her 'surrealist objects' was put on display alongside artworks from artists including Hans Bellmer, Dora Maar, Meret Oppenheim, Man Ray, André Breton, Salvador Dalí, Constantin Brancusi, and Francis Picabia.⁷

The 1999 book, *Inverted Odysseys: Claude Cahun, Maya Deren, Cindy Sherman*, edited by Shelley Rice includes many important contributions including a translation of Cahun's publication "Heroines" from 1925, and the essay "The Equivocal "I": Claude Cahun as Lesbian Subject" by Abigail Solomon-Godeau. The translation of "Heroines" was important to look at an early publication from Cahun, and her reinvention of traditional female narratives. Looking at this example, though not used directly for this research, aided in understanding her position on gender politics at the time. Solomon-Godeau's essay, similar to her coauthored article with Honor Lasalle, mainly looks at Cahun's biography and sexual and gender expression to interpret her artworks.

The book *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars*, published in 2003 and edited by Whitney Chadwick and Tirza True Latimer, contains two chapters directed more to the research in this thesis. Jennifer Shaw's contribution "Singular Plural" focuses on the

⁶ "Claude Cahun 1894-1954," Musée d'Art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris, June – September 1995; "Entre Nous: The Art of Claude Cahun," The Art Institute of Chicago, February – June 2012; "Claude Cahun et ses doubles," Nantes Médiathèque Jacques Demy, July – October 2015; "Gillian Wearing and Claude Cahun: Behind this mask, another mask," National Portrait Gallery, London, March-May 2017, touring exhibition.

⁷ "International Surrealist Exhibition," Tate Modern, UK, accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/paul-nash/room-guide/international-surrealist-exhibition>.

“collaborative self-images in Claude Cahun’s *Aveux non Avenus*.”⁸ This chapter is similar to Shaw’s later publication that is a detailed analysis of each chapter within *Aveux non Avenus*. The only recognition of Moore in this chapter is the acknowledgement of the frontispiece in *Aveux non Avenus* that is signed by Moore, not Cahun. There is even evidence that a “publicity poster for *Aveux non Avenus* describes the plates as “composed by Moore in following the author’s designs.”⁹ Continuing, Shaw describes that Moore was simply following Cahun’s orders. In the same book, Tirza True Latimer contributed the chapter, “Looking Like A Lesbian” of the same name of her doctoral dissertation from Stanford University. This chapter looks more closely at the intimate relationship between Cahun and Moore through Cahun’s gender non-conforming presentation and the physical presentation associated with lesbianism during the 1920’s in France and England.

A nearly encyclopedic publication of the pair’s photographs and other artworks was published by Aperture in 2006. *Don’t Kiss Me: The Art of Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore* lays out a detailed timeline of their photographs and writings. The publication also supports the argument in this thesis that Moore was equally responsible for the creation of the identity of “Claude Cahun.” *Don’t Kiss Me* allowed for a comprehensive look at nearly all of Cahun and Moore’s works and did not present them through a sexual or gender studies, or feminist lens, allowing for the work to be appreciated separate from external interpretations. The publication separates the works by subject (i.e. Portraits of Moore, of Cahun, images of the Isle of Jersey, etc.) rather than in a chronological order that creates a disconnect between the photographs.

⁸ Jennifer Laurie Shaw, “Singular Plural,” in *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars*, ed. Whitney Chadwick and Tirza True Latimer, (New Brunswick, NJ; London: Rutgers University Press, 2003): 155.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

In the past decade, scholars have become increasingly interested in Claude Cahun's life and work, and, most recently, in how she self-identified. The manipulation of her appearance and her name initially caused problems for scholars since she was first identified as a male artist, but has now become the focus of academic studies. Articles and books analyze Cahun and her work through a feminist lens and use gender theory to explain her unconventional appearance we see through her photographs. Specifically, *Claude Cahun: A Sensual Politics of Photography*, by author Gen Doy in 2007, addresses the work of Cahun by looking only at her presentation as androgynous; not totally feminine and at the same time not totally masculine. These scholars, while foregrounding Cahun's innovations, generally overlooked Moore's important role.¹⁰

The publications *Reading Claude Cahun's Disavowals* and *Exist Otherwise: The Life and Work of Claude Cahun*, released in 2013 and 2017 respectively are the most recent bibliographic materials on Cahun. These books come from art historian and Cahun scholar, Jennifer Laurie Shaw.¹¹ Following the 2007 English translation of Cahun's only published work, *Aveux non Avenus*, as *Disavowals*, Shaw's 2013 publication is a close reading and analysis of this crucial text. Cahun constructed the writing by assembling excerpts from her personal letters, diary entries, and previous publications, while her partner Marcel Moore created the photomontages that precede each chapter. Shaw discusses each of the ten chapters and accompanying photomontages as a method for understanding Cahun, her life, and her artistic process. Through her analysis of

¹⁰ For more information see: Whitney Chadwick, "An Infinite Play of Empty Mirrors," in *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism, and Self-Representation*, edited Whitney Chadwick and Dawn Ades, 2-35 (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1998). Andrea Oberhuber, "Claude Cahun, Marcel Moore, Lise Deharme and the Surrealist Book," *History of Photography* 31, 1 (2007).

¹¹ Jennifer Shaw also published the chapter, "Singular Plural," in *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars*, ed. Whitney Chadwick and Tirza True Latimer, 155-168 (New Brunswick, NJ; London: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

Cahun's writing, she notes various social and political influences and meanings of symbols and icons that appear throughout the publication.

Exist Otherwise: The Life and Work of Claude Cahun (2017) is the first comprehensive biography on Cahun written and published in English. Throughout the text, Shaw includes information regarding the early development of the relationship between Moore and Cahun, as well as how they helped each other develop their unique stances as artists. Shaw also includes many images taken by Cahun and Moore, letters, and other published works from Cahun's archive, which gives an intimate look into the lives of the two women. Shaw brings Cahun's life and work to a new audience of English speaking scholars. This allows for the argument presented in my research to bring a new perspective to current Cahun scholarship, and more directly address the relationship between Cahun and Moore.

Though Moore often hid behind the camera and did not include her name on their mutually created artworks, it is vital to recognize her presence and importance to the artistic production of Claude Cahun, as well as her life as a whole. Professor of English at Stanford University, Terry Castle addresses the systematic erasure of same-sex female relationships in, *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture*, where she states, "Why is it so difficult to see the lesbian – even when she is there, quite plainly, in front of us? In part, because she has been 'ghosted' – or made to seem invisible – by culture itself."¹² Cahun and Moore did not document themselves that they were involved in an intimate relationship with one another, yet it cannot be discounted as a possibility. Early scholarship ignoring the existence of Marcel

¹² Terry Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993): 4-5.

Moore can be attributed to this fear associated with female homosexuality. Castle suggests that this fear is rooted in distress when women live their lives without men.¹³

The cultural history of female identity during the twentieth century in Europe and France, and female homosexual identity during that time is also relevant. Cahun scholar, art historian, and visual theorist Tirza True Latimer has written and contributed to numerous publications that proved to be valuable in these areas. This includes her 2002 Ph.D. dissertation “Looking like a Lesbian” from Stanford University and subsequent 2003 essay, of the same name, in *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris between the Wars* that she edited with Whitney Chadwick. In both publications, she discusses the fashion trends that began to emerge throughout early twentieth-century European cities when women, notably homosexual women, began to adopt a more masculine style of dress. Latimer’s publications allow for Cahun’s appearance to be located within the larger social context in Paris.

In her 2005 book, *Women Together/Women Apart: Portraits of Lesbian Paris*, Latimer specifically discusses the underground lesbian community in Paris during the 1920’s, referred to as the “The Ladies of the West Bank.” This publication describes the environment that Cahun and Moore were living in, as well as their social interactions with others. Latimer uses Radclyffe Hall’s novel *The Well of Loneliness* as an example of homosexual women feeling the need to restrict an outward expression of their sexuality. *The Well of Loneliness*, first published in England in 1928, was subject to obscenity laws and quickly banned due to the portrayal of homosexuality as a natural and acceptable aspect of human behavior. The central character, Stephen Gordon, exhibits characteristics that can be also attributed to Cahun and other 1920’s lesbians, as dressing mannishly or androgynously. Similarly, we see evidence of this gender-neutrality in Cahun’s self-

¹³ Terry Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian*, 5.

portraits. Seen in the context of their cultural environment, Cahun and Moore's connections to "The Ladies of the West Bank," and their collaborative efforts, the work becomes more than a portrait of Cahun, but a response to their surroundings.¹⁴

Carolyn Topdjian, a freelance writer in art history and philosophy, published the article "Shape-Shifting Beauty: The Body, Gender and Subjectivity in the Photographs of Claude Cahun" in 2007. She proposes that through Cahun's 'controversial' presentation she "displays a manifestation of her body as *post-beautiful*." Topdjian defines the term post-beautiful as a body that visually, metaphysically, and discursively exists beyond or outside the understood dichotomy of beautiful versus ugly.¹⁵ This article presents Cahun not as a single person simply wearing masks of different identities like many other publications describe, but with the adopted name of Claude Cahun, she becomes a new person. The article also questions what is viewed as traditional female beauty and Cahun's rejection of the associated attributes (i.e. long hair, motherhood, heterosexuality, etc.). Specifically through Topdjian's discussion of Kant's and Nietzsche's theories on female beauty and the gendered associations with beauty that provided an interesting approach to Cahun and her work.

The only publication directly addressing Cahun and Moore's relationship is Latimer's article, "Entre Nous: Between Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore," published in 2006. Often scholars look only at Cahun's work to focus solely on her and claim she created her photographs alone. However, Latimer argues that identifying these photographs as "self-portraits" of Cahun

¹⁴ For more information see Diana Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago; London;: University of Chicago Press, 2000) and Laura Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ Carolyn Topdjian, "Shape-Shifting Beauty: The Body, Gender and Subjectivity in the Photographs of Claude Cahun," *Resources for Feminist Research* 32 (3/4) 2007: 64.

is incorrect and that calling them as such erases Moore's presence from their collaboration. Latimer references letters written by Cahun in which she refers to the photographs as “our photography” or “our amateur efforts” to support the claim that Moore was equally involved in the creative process. Many art historians have connected the pair’s images to Surrealism’s interests in psychoanalysis through the use of doubling. Latimer interprets this as representing the two women working as one in their photographic process. One of the most vital points presented by Latimer is that the labeling of Cahun’s photographs as “self-portraits” changes our perception of the images, as well as our understanding of Cahun as an artist.¹⁶ Latimer’s article aids in filling a gap within the scholarship surrounding Cahun and Moore, by recognizing their relationship and collaborative efforts.

¹⁶ Latimer, “Entre Nous,” 198-199.

CHAPTER I

EARLY COLLABORATIONS: WORKS BEFORE 1930

The artist we know as Claude Cahun was born in Nantes, France in 1894, with the name Lucy Renée Mathilde Schwob. Her family, notably her uncle Marcel Schwob who owned the literary journal *La Phare de la Loire* and was well known within French avant-garde publishing at the time, allowed Cahun to develop an early affinity for writing and literature.¹⁷ For Cahun, childhood was not a particularly pleasant time. In a letter to her friend, Paul Levy, she describes how her mother was “struck with mental illness, according to the psychiatrists, institutionalized,” and describes how on her seventh birthday her father’s gift was the wish to give her a better life.¹⁸ Cahun’s school experience proved to be equally problematic for her as her family situation. She wrote in another letter (c. 1945) that one day at school the other girls “tied [me] up with jump ropes to a tree in the schoolyard, [I] was stoned with gravel.”¹⁹ She described herself during this period as, “excessively studious, exciting jealousy by my scholarly successes, which didn’t do me any good,” and “timid...too small for my age, almost a dwarf and without muscles.”²⁰ These sections from Cahun’s personal letters show how secluded and isolated she felt at times in her familial and school life and provide an early indication that she wished something different than the life she was currently living. Due to the increase of her being bullied at school, and the rise of anti-Semitism throughout France, Cahun’s father sent her to England to attend Parsons Mead School in Surrey. Possibly, this was his effort to give his daughter a better life. While there she

¹⁷ McGurk, “Claude Cahun, Symbolism and Surrealism,” 47.

¹⁸ Claude Cahun, ‘Lettre a Paul Levy’, in *Ecrits*, ed Francois Leperlier, (Paris, 2002): 717. Quoted in Jennifer Laurie Shaw, *Exist Otherwise: The Life and Work of Claude Cahun*, (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 2017): 16.

¹⁹ Claude Cahun, ‘Confidences au miroir,’ 618. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 20-21.

²⁰ Francois Leperlier, *Claude Cahun: L’Exotisme intérieur*, 29. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 20.

became fluent in English, which would be advantageous for her future work. She became strong enough to return to school in Nantes, France in 1908.²¹

Upon returning to Nantes at the age of fifteen, Cahun met Suzanne Alberte Malherbe who was seventeen at the time. There was an immediate attraction between the two, which Cahun later described as a “lightning strike.” In her memoirs, which were never published but exist as handwritten pages in her archive on the Isle of Jersey, Cahun suggests that it was not long until her father became suspicious of the girls’ attractions to one another.²² He did not push Cahun to a traditional life of motherhood out of fear she would pass on her mother’s mental illness. However, he also discouraged her from pursuing a relationship with Moore and from her desires to be a writer. Cahun began to write in secret and refused to eat from sadness by her separation from Moore. It was not long until she became very ill and was on the brink of suicide. Cahun's father sought out the medical advice of Dr. Malherbe, Moore's father, who suggested that he "entrust his daughter to Suzanne." With that, he no longer prevented the girls' relationship and also allowed Cahun to pursue writing. Once Cahun regained her strength, she felt confident she could leave Moore and attended the Sorbonne in Paris to receive a degree in philosophy and literature. Moore remained in Nantes to attend the Ecole des Beaux Arts for drawing and design.²³ They would later combine the skills they learned at university in the works they created together.

One of the earliest examples of Cahun positioning the camera lens towards herself is the image posthumously named, *Claude Cahun* (Figure 1), made in 1915. In this image, we see a

²¹ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 21.

²² Shaw’s publication *Exist Otherwise* provides ample examples and descriptions of the contents of Cahun’s unpublished memoirs that are in her archive at the Jersey Heritage Site, and were extremely useful for this research.

²³ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 22-26.

young girl sitting at a desk in front of a backdrop that consists of a dark colored fabric. Cahun wears a sailor-like shirt and has her hair cut short; neither is obviously identifiable as male or female. In this image, she is already exploring the notion of established gender roles, shifts between female and male appearances, and what it means to defy established gender signifiers. Cahun intently reads a large book, which rests on top of another book titled *L'Image de la femme*. With the inclusion of this book, and by bringing the viewer's attention to the title, Cahun points to the imperative placed upon young girls, like herself, to assume the proper roles associated with femininity. During the inter-war period in France, there was a return to the traditionally feminine ideals of motherhood and maintaining a "pure French identity."²⁴ Cahun's Jewish heritage and unconventional appearance placed her outside the accepted norm in society of the time.

Due to her family's intimate connections with the literary world in France, beginning around 1913 Cahun was able to publish her writings on a regular basis for her uncle's journal *La Phare de la Loire*. The family's connections also allowed Moore to submit her drawings and illustrations for publication. One of her earliest writings, *Vues et Visions*, was originally in the journal *Mercure de France* released in 1915, and then republished in 1919 under the name Claude Cahun.²⁵ This publication is an early example of not only the use of a pseudonym by Schwob/Cahun, but also of the two women working together on a single project. Cahun

²⁴ Amy Lyford, *Surrealist Masculinities: Gender Anxiety and the Aesthetics of Post-World War I Reconstruction in France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 101.

²⁵ This is the first publication that uses the name Claude Cahun. It was first released in 1915 under the name Claude Courlis, an earlier iteration of a pseudonym used by Cahun. A digitized version of the publication is available at: "*Mercure de France- Vues et Visions*, 1914, 258-278," Bibliothèque nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k201747v/f40.item.r=mercure+de+france>.

provided the written components, while Moore contributed illustrations that accompany the text. Similar to the photograph, *Claude Cahun* (Figure 1), the notions of a double life, an imaginary life, the original and a copy, can be felt through these poems. This publication is a grouping of twenty-five prose poems, each subdivided into two parts that are which at times identical ('La rencontre' – 'La recontre' of 'L'arrivée' – 'L'arrivée'), sometimes contrasting ('La lutte' – 'Le baiser'), sometimes complementary ('La glace' – 'La neige' or 'La nuit moderne' – 'La lumière antique') and sometimes slightly altered ('Les jeux de la mer' – 'Les jeux des marins').²⁶ Throughout the entirety of the publication, the paired poems oscillate between describing an oceanscape to aspects of the city of Rome. There is also an element of Cahun manipulating time. The ocean narrative reads as if it is in the present, however the city storyline is written as if Cahun is recalling a memory from the past. She juxtaposes these paired vignettes and transforms contemporary *Vues* (the ocean) into poetic *Visions* (the city). Cahun approaches this text with an interest in the in-between, a mixing of dialogues, and a blending of expressive modalities. She blends, pairs, contrasts, supports, and negates her own words, and as a result, the reader begins to question what is real and what is imaginary.

The entire publication follows the same design format. The closing poems, "LE DÉPART" and 'LE DÉPART,' (Figure 2) are no exception. Part I, or The Cruise, follows the narrator as they feel uneasy by a boat's rocking movement. Cahun writes, "Oui, cette ville, que j'ai declare infame et cruelle, me tente aujourd'hui. La tête lourde, me voilà balance sur ce

²⁶ Oberhuber, "Claude Cahun, Marcel Moore, Lise Deharme and the Surrealist Book," 41-42. ('The Meeting' – 'The Meeting' or 'The Arrival' – 'The Arrival'), ('The Struggle' – 'The Basics'), ('Ice' – 'Snow' or 'The Modern Night' – 'The ancient light'), ('The games of the sea' – 'Seafarers games'), translated by author.

clapotis, qui suffirait à em render malade alors que je suis bien.”²⁷ Here she notes the undulating and uncontrollable qualities of the water, and how this can make one’s head feel heavy and uneasy while on a boat. The narrative continues, “Le pêcheur a pitié de moi: Vous êtes bien pale. Couchez-vous donc au fond de la barque, sur les filets. Quand on souffre, on est comme un enfant. J’obéis.”²⁸ Here a fisherman enters and comments on the paleness of the narrator and advises them to lie on netting that sits in the boat to ease their pain. The poem ends with the lines, “La douleur se calme et se change en un battement d’ailes qui se ralentit et s’efface. Ingrat, je vais quitter cet ami qui me chante et me berce et m’endort.”²⁹ The narrator comments on the reduction of pain after resting while the movement of the waves to a calm state. The narrator then notes they will leave this person who cared for them, and in doing so is ungrateful.

The paired prose of “LE DÉPART,” *Rome. Trajan* opposes the previous but follows an identical syntax. First, Cahun writes, “Ces tablettes m’appellent en Espagne. J’ai la migraine et l’étrange désir d’une promenade à Rome,” noting that the narrator has a headache and wishes to walk in the city of Rome. She continues: “Oui, cette ville, que j’ai declare infame et cruelle, me tente aujourd’hui. La tête lourde, me voilà poussé, inconscient, à travers ces rues agitées; dont le tumult suffirait à me rendre malade alors que suis bien.”³⁰ Here she comments on the cruelty

²⁷ “*Mercur de France– Vues et Visions*, 1914, 277,”

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k201747v/f40.item.r=mercure+de+france>. “Yes, these waves, which I declared inconsistent and misleading, tempt me today. The heavy head, here I balance on this lapping, which would suffice to make me sick while I am well.” Translated by author.

²⁸ Ibid. “The fisherman has pity on me: You are very pale. So lie down in the bottom of the boat on the nets. When one suffers, one is like a child. I obeyed.” Translated by author.

²⁹ “*Mercur de France– Vues et Visions*, 1914, 278,”

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k201747v/f40.item.r=mercure+de+france>. “The pain calms down and changes into a flapping wing that slows down and fades. Ungrateful, I am going to leave this friend who sings and rocks me and puts me to sleep.”

³⁰ Ibid., “These tablets call me in Spain I have the migraine and the strange desire for a walk in Rome. Yes, this city, which I have declared infamous and cruel, tempts me today. With a heavy

and harshness of the city that makes her head feel weighted down and groggy from the noisy streets. Like *The Cruise*, the narrative continues with the character feeling tired and needing to lie down, “Etendu sur un lit moelleux auprès de la fenêtre couverte.”³¹ The second section of “LE DÉPART” ends in a nearly identical manner as the previous section. It reads, “La douleur se calme et se change en un battement d’ailes qui se ralentit et s’efface. Ingrat, je vais quitter cette amie qui me chante et me berce et m’endort.”³² Again she describes how the agitation subsides as the clamor and noise of Rome slowly fades away, and her leaving of a caring friend as being ungrateful behavior.

The echoing and parallels seen in the prose match Moore’s accompanying illustrations and the two intertwine with and support one another. Both illustrations on pages 98 and 99 (Figure 2) of *Vues et Visions* frame Cahun’s writing by creating the upper and outside borders on each page. On the left, page 98, there is a feminine figure on the bottom of the frame. The body is lying on a wooden structure, and the face pressing downward into the shoulder that slightly touches the wood. Behind the figure, the platform extends above and creates a wall of a ship. Further, Moore uses bold sections of deep black contrasting the undulating lines of bold white to create the illusion of a rough oceanscape, similar to the one described in Cahun’s writing. Moore’s image is an illustration of a woman suffering from uneasiness who is lying on the deck of a ship as rough seas can be seen in the background.

head, I am driven unconscious through these agitated streets; whose tumult would be enough to make me sick when I am fine.” Translated by author.

³¹ “*Mercur de France*– *Vues et Visions*, 1914, 278.”

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k201747v/f40.item.r=mercure+de+france>. “Stretched out on a soft bed by the covered window.” Translated by author.

³² Ibid., <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k201747v/f40.item.r=mercure+de+france>. “The pain calms down and turns into a fluttering of wings that slows down. Ungrateful, I am going to leave this friend who sings and rocks me and puts me to sleep.”

Just as the two poems reference each other so do the illustrations. On page 99, a similar figure with equally feminine features, but wearing a hat, lies on the ground and faces upwards. A structural device, like the ship's wall, separates the figure from the cityscape in the background. The hills placed behind the buildings parallel the flowing slopes of the waves. Like with the ocean scene, Moore is taking Cahun's words and placing them in a visual format. The reader can understand the narrative through Moore's drawings that are placed on the same page. The images on page 98 and 99 (Figure 2) support one another, and at the same time oppose one another, in the same way, Cahun's poems diverge and then connect. The collaboration between Moore and Cahun on this publication is evident due to the text and images becoming a single unit. The illustrations made by Moore support the text just as Cahun's text informs the drawings on the same page. If the two components did not compliment the other in this manner the entire publication would feel disjointed.

Cahun's dedicates the entire publication to Moore. She writes,

To Marcel Moore
I dedicate to you this puerile prose
so that the entirety of this book
will belong to you and that your designs may thereby pardon us my text.

This dedication is evidence that Cahun values Moore's contributions, and sees the inclusion of the illustrations as enhancing her writing, not as a distraction from the publications importance.³³ The use of possessive articles in this dedication allows for little doubt that their partnership is also an intimate collaboration, and not solely a creative relationship. Cahun places Moore's

³³ Tirza True Latimer, "Looking like a Lesbian" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2002), 77.

designs as vital to the work in elevating her own writing. Cahun's "puerile prose" in combination with Moore's illustrations becomes more meaningful and understandable.

Moore created a number of illustrative designs on her own as well as working with Cahun. She worked with French poet Marc-Adolphe Guégan, who aided in popularizing Japanese Haiku in French, with his publications *L'Invitation à la fête primitive* (1921) and *Oya-Insula ou L'Enfant à la conque* (1923). Moore's drawings were an appropriate match for Guégan's poetry with her artistic style resembling Japanese woodblock prints, as seen in one of her early fashion designs from 1917 (Figure 3). Moore's fashion drawings were also published in the journal *Phare de la Loire*. Both artists, Cahun and Moore, pursued separate artistic careers, however when they combine their talents like in *Vues et Visions* their work supports the other.

Cahun began to publish more of her writings across various journals. She released an essay that was serialized in four successive issues, which appeared in *Le grebe*, the journal organized by her father. In this work titled, "L'idée-maîtresse," translated to "the main idea," Cahun describes same-sex love as her "creed," or her "guiding principle." The clear embrace of homosexuality, for her an embrace of a mistress (implied by the title, where *maîtresse* also translates to mistress in French), is a rejection for Cahun being bound to her gender, her cultural heritage, her bourgeois family, and to follow stereotypical heterosexual expectations. She writes,

The love that dare not speak its name, lies like a golden haze upon my horizon...I am in her, she is in me; and I will follow her always, never losing sight of her...

By Cahun using feminine pronouns she writes a dedication of love to Moore. The phrase "The love that dare not speak its name" makes reference to English writer Oscar Wilde, and one of the most broadly publicized episodes in modern history of sexuality.³⁴ This phrase comes from

³⁴ Latimer, "Entre Nous," 201-202.

Wilde's recitation of his lover Alfred Douglas's affirmation of their "illicit bond" during his trial on homosexuality, sodomy, and indecency.³⁵ Cahun's appropriation of this phrase, the allusion to homosexuality, and a socio-sexual lineage place her within a literary tradition addressing sexuality. This interest in and acknowledgment of homosexuality, sexual and gender identity will continue to appear within her photographic and literary works.

In 1922, Cahun and Moore moved to 70 Notre-Dame-des-Champes, in Montparnasse, Paris. There they held numerous salons where artists and intellectuals across Parisian society gathered. Their address book is comprised of names of their visitors including theorist Jacques Lacan, sexologist Havelock Ellis, famous writers Paul Eluard, Paul Valéry, Dadaist Tristan Tzara, Surrealists André Breton, Georges Bataille, Salvador Dalí, Max Ernst, and women of the Left Bank, Sylvia Beach, Natalie Barney, Adrienne Monnier, and Gertrude Stein.³⁶ Jennifer Shaw, author of *Exist Otherwise: The Life and Work of Claude Cahun*, cites François Leperlier's description of the interior design of Cahun and Moore's Parisian home; he notes it was richly furnished with "a subtle equilibrium of eccentricity and luxurious good taste." It prominently displayed Chana Orloff's bust of Cahun (Figure 4), as well as two works by Max Ernst, one being a large photomontage. There was also a drawing by Miró, a painting by Pierre Delanglège, a collection of primitive and Cubist sculptures, and a large library including many original editions of avant-garde books. Others reported that at times the entire apartment would become flooded with soft pink light, while Cahun's bedroom was covered from floor to ceiling with

³⁵ The phrase comes from the poem, "Two Loves," written by Alfred Douglas in 1894. It was used in Wilde's trial and is typically interpreted as a euphemism for homosexuality, though Wilde denied this. Additional information on Wilde's trial can be found in Ari Adut, "A Theory of Scandal: Victorians, Homosexuality, and the Fall of Oscar Wilde," *American Journal of Sociology*, 111:1 (2005): 213-248.

³⁶ Jennifer Laurie Shaw, *Reading Claude Cahun's Disavowals*, (Burlington, VT; Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013): 13.

midnight-blue paper and custom hand-cut stars.³⁷ Cahun and Moore became involved in the circles of artists and literary figures, allowing for the full immersion into the Surrealist movement, and the ability to express their 'true' identities. Paris proved to be a positive environment for Cahun and Moore's artistic production. Taking inspiration from other artists around her, Cahun also created 'surrealist objects' or small sculptures taking the ideologies from the Surrealist movement leader, André Breton's *Manifestoes of Surrealism* and transforming them into tangible objects.

Cahun published a series of essays in 1925, titled *Heroines* in the journals *Mercure de France* and *Journal littéraire*.³⁸ The series of fifteen monologues is based on famous women from the Bible, Greek mythology, Western children's stories, and popular culture. Cahun's new scripts for these misunderstood heroines, including Sappho, Cinderella, Salomé, and Eve, create new interpretations and place these women within the context of the twentieth century. By disrupting culturally established norms within traditional French bourgeois society, Cahun demonstrates the endurance of old myths concerning feminism. On this work, Cahun remarked, "feminism is already in the fairytales" so by slightly shifting the viewpoint, the readers are soon made aware of the suppressed "feminist" content. Moore used her skills and training as a graphic artist to create pen-and-ink drawings to accompany the stories, as seen in the illustration for Judith (Figure 5). The bold design is typical of Moore's style, yet one intriguing aspect of the drawing is the resemblance of Judith to the striking gaze of Cahun. The two intended to publish a fully

³⁷ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 59.

³⁸ Digitized version available at: "*Mercure de France*– Héroines, 1925, 622-643," Bibliothèque nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k201972m/f64.item.r=claud+cahun>.

illustrated version of the collection under a separate cover, however this ambition was never realized.³⁹

Cahun continued to write about and publish what would have been considered controversial topics. The essay, “Meditation de Mademoiselle Lucie Schwob,” was written under her birth name Lucie Schwob, and published in the journal *Philosophies* in 1925. She declares, “My opinion on homosexuality and homosexuals is exactly the same as my opinion on heterosexuality and heterosexuals: everything depends on the individual and the circumstance. I call for the general freedom of morals.”⁴⁰ Here is evidence that Cahun is actively thinking about issues regarding homosexuality, and further the acceptance of homosexuality while living in 1920’s Paris. Another example of her interest in homosexuality, especially female homosexuality, is her translation of the chapter “La Femme dans la Société” from American sexologist Havelock Ellis’s *Studies in the Psychology of Sex Vol. II Sexual Inversion*, which discusses the female role within society. While neither of the women explicitly states the existence of such a relationship, Cahun’s multiple inclusions of same-sex relationships support the existence of an intimate connection between herself and Moore.

³⁹ Tirza True Latimer, “Claude Cahun's Mirror in the Lens,” *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide* 18, 1 (2011): 2. Also see Louise Downie, Claude Cahun, and Suzanne Malherbe, “Magic Mirror” in *Don't Kiss Me: The Art of Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore*, (New York, N.Y: Aperture Foundation, 2006): 24.

⁴⁰ Lucie Schwob [Claude Cahun], ‘Meditation de Mlle ‘Lucie Scwhob,’ *Philosophies* (1925): 5-6. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 66-67.

CHAPTER 2: PSEUDONYMS AND IDENTITIES: A PROCESS OF NAMING

The act of naming oneself allows the individual to actively choose how to identify within a society. To re-name oneself has a similar effect in removing an old identity to create space for a new person, a new identity that is seamlessly placed where the old one existed. The term 'identity' can be problematic since there are three distinctive definitions or usages of the term. In sociologists Sheldon Stryker and Peter Burke 2000 article, they note that the word "identity" can be used to refer to the culture of a people, and creates no distinction between an individual identity and an ethnicity. Another use is to refer to a common identity among a collective or social category, thus creating a common cultural link between participants. Lastly, the term can be used in reference to "parts of a self composed of the meanings that persons attach to the multiple roles they typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies."⁴¹ It is the last use of identity that will be used in the analysis of Moore and Cahun in this chapter. While they are placed within a cultural and socio-political group it is more pressing to look at their individual identities within those groupings. More specifically noted is how they attach meaning to these created identities aside from their birth identities that they have, for the most part, rejected.

As an author of both literary works and her own authorial name, Cahun takes charge of her identity and writes a story of her own design. Theorist and philosopher, Roland Barthes describes literature in "The Death of the Author" (1967) as, "that neuter, that composite, that oblique into which every subject escapes, the trap where all identity is lost, beginning with the

⁴¹ Sheldon Stryker, and Peter J. Burke, "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2000): 284.

very identity of the body that writes.”⁴² For Barthes, the author disappears behind their writing and does not possess the same identity as they might otherwise occupy outside of their writing. This is also true for Cahun. Through her writings and photographs the girl that was Lucy Schwob no longer exists, and the constructed identity of “Claude Cahun” is all that remains. Cahun is the only identity that exists to the readers and viewers. Barthes suggests that it is not the author that creates the identity, but it is the reader’s interpretation of what the author writes that allows an identity to be created. He asserts,

...yet there is someone who understands each word in its duplicity and understands further, one might say, the very deafness of the characters speaking in front of him: this someone is precisely the reader... a text consists of multiple writings, issuing from several cultures and entering into dialogue with each other, into parody, into contestation; but there is one place where this multiplicity is collected, united, and this place is not the author, as we have hitherto said it was, but the reader.⁴³

It is the act of photographing Cahun that cements her existence into reality and allows others outside their intimate and artistic relationship to see Claude Cahun. Moore's photographs present an identity to viewers that establish a “type” for Schwob to fit into, thus she occupies and embraces the persona of “Claude Cahun.” Cahun’s authorial identity is complicated immediately through the collaborative works made with Moore. Moore’s photographs visualize her identity into a kind of reality, and allow others outside the intimate and artistic relationship to see “Claude Cahun.”

In the publication, “What is an Author” (1969), philosopher and critic Michel Foucault opposes Barthes’s interpretations of the function of the author. He sees the author as needing to always be present, whether in the text or in reality. It is the disappearance of the author’s name

⁴² Barthes, Roland, “The Death of the Author,” 2. Accessed September 6, 2017, http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wp-content/death_authorbarthes.pdf.

⁴³ Ibid., 5-6.

that allows the reader to have an understanding of the text's position within a given society and culture. He states, "In writing, the point is not to manifest or exalt the writing, nor is it to pin a subject within language; it is, rather, a question of creating a space into which the writing subject constantly disappears."⁴⁴ Then if the author is never solidified in their writing, the identity of the author is changing or more precisely the reader's perception of the author is in constant flux.

Because Lucy Schwob disappears behind the written text and photographic image, Claude Cahun is free to occupy the space left behind. He also notes that one function of the author is that the name does not simply refer to an individual, but alludes to several selves and to several subjects.⁴⁵ For Foucault, the author is an apparatus for the reader to create meaning from the literary work. Claude Cahun's place as an author creates an identity for herself, but it is Moore's creation of the photographs that allows for the identity of "Claude Cahun" to be believable. It is these photographs that solidify and actualize Cahun.

Theorist Jacques Lacan positions language as the formative structure that allows for the creation of one's identity. He maintains that in the fundamental years of childhood, when the child is establishing an understanding of itself, the identity is solidified once they learn language, and it is in words where the identity is constructed and maintained. Once an idea or concept can be formulated into language it can then be constructed as a reality. In *The Language of Self* (1968), Lacan rejects Sigmund Freud's notion of an unconscious based on symbols and instinct and hypothesizes that the unconscious exists within language. He identifies language as the key component in constructing a picture of the world around us, and the system that allows the

⁴⁴ Michel Foucault, "What is an Author," in *Art in Theory 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, edited by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003): 949.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 950-951.

unconscious to be placed between those understandings, thus dissolving any distinction between fantasy and reality. Further, in the text, he states, "I have been this only in order to become what I can be."⁴⁶ This statement implies there is not a fixed status of identity, but our sense of self can evolve and shift. Our understanding of language expands and develops, and in turn, the way our unconscious expresses language also changes.

Lacan expands on his theories of language and identity in "The Signification of the Phallus," (1958) and claims the gendered linguistic system disrupts one's true desires and the fulfillment of those desires.⁴⁷ Cahun's use of language disrupts its gendered system and allows her to claim her own gendered space, one in which she can declare herself a male narrator. Throughout many of her writings, specifically in *Aveux non Avenus* (1930), she does not declare herself to be female but often presents herself as a male narrator. Is this the fulfillment of her desires to be male? Or Cahun's rejection of France's return to a traditional ideology of femininity at the time? Cahun presents herself as gender-neutral, in-between masculine and feminine, the 'Other' indicating that she does not connect exclusively with the words *male* or *female*. Lacan disputes the notion that men signify the meaning of women, or that women may signify the meaning of men.⁴⁸ Through this signifying chain we become aware of an object's meaning because it is *not* the other. Male must be male because it is not female, and so on. The fact that Cahun does not uphold either label means she cannot represent one over the other. She does not

⁴⁶ Jacques Lacan, *The Language of the Self: The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis*, trans. Anthony Wilden (New York: Dell Publishing Co, 1968), 13.

⁴⁷ Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, "The Signification of the Phallus." 575-584, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2006).

⁴⁸ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (New York: Routledge, 1999): 94.

occupy the space of *male*, so viewers cannot discount her as *female*, but she does not claim the position of *female*, so viewers cannot reject her as *male*.

For Cahun the process of naming herself was a lengthy one and consisted of multiple iterations with slight changes to the name she used. From an early age she felt compelled to reject the name given to her at birth, mostly because she was unhappy with the overly feminine derivatives of the name Lucy (Lucie, Lucette, etc.). At school Cahun often signed her papers with her middle name, Renée. In a letter to a friend, she recalled, “I signed my “French essays” with my second name: “Renée”... because of my penchant (still groundless) for the androgynous, my high school pen played at making the mute in “e” in René disappear.”⁴⁹ Not only was Cahun contemplating the concepts of identity and the shifting of identity, but she was also manipulating gender and what it might mean to occupy the space of gender neutrality. Her use and manipulation of “false” names lead to her transformation of identity. She no longer occupies the space once held by Lucy Schwob, but comes to exist within the gender-neutral world of Renée/René.

Another early name Cahun used was Claude Courlis. The surname Courlis is derived from the word courlew, a migratory bird identified by its predominant hooked beak. Cahun connected to the bird’s feature due to her own hooked nose, a trait she inherited from her father.⁵⁰ The name Claude Courlis first appears in 1915 with the first publication of *Vues et Visions*. Cahun also used the name Daniel Douglas for a short time and was inspired by Oscar Wilde’s lover, Lord Alfred Douglas. Cahun’s deep investment in following the court case of

⁴⁹ Claude Cahun, ‘Feuilles detaches du scrap book,’ in François Lepelier, *Écrits*, 659, quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 29.

⁵⁰ Natalya Lusty, *Surrealism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*, (Burlington, VT;Aldershot, England;: Ashgate, 2007): 107.

Oscar Wilde's homosexual behavior can be seen in the framed image of Wilde that hangs on the wall of her Paris apartment (Figure 6). As with previous other pseudonym, the name Cahun was not chosen on a whim but with deep reflection and purpose. The surname Cahun belonged to her paternal grandmother, who fostered her interest in narratives by asking Cahun to read stories to her including mythologies and fairy tales.

Cahun wrote in *Aveux non Avenus*, "...Claude Cahun – qui représentait (représente à mes yeux) mon véritable nom plutôt qu'un pseudonyme."⁵¹ By including this statement she is declaring that Claude Cahun is not just an alter ego or a pen name. Professor and curator of contemporary art Viviana Gravano, describes this renaming in her 2009 article, as a "part of the reconstructive process of a self, which, to be effectively accomplished, must start from a basic element, i.e. from the definition of the very coordinates it belongs to, so that – once reprocessed – they may introduce and contain congenital elements of a new, self-determined personality."⁵² These various self-representations guide Cahun in her thinking and behavior. They change, evolve, and shift over time, yet they are static by creating an image she can refer to.⁵³

It is unknown whether Suzanne Malherbe, like Lucy Schwob/Claude Cahun, also went through many pseudonyms before finalizing her name of Marcel Moore. However, much can be taken from both their choices to select gender-neutral names. Cahun scholar, Tirza True Latimer describes their renaming and unname as the symbolic method in which they unravel the familial and cultural nets in which they find themselves. Latimer suggests these

⁵¹ Claude Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 151-152. "Claude Cahun - who represents (represents in my eyes) my real name rather than a pseudonym." Translated by author.

⁵² Viviana Gravano, "Explorations, Simulations: Claude Cahun and Self-Identity," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 16 (2009): 357

⁵³ Tamsin E. Lorraine, *Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 16.

“unpatronymic, un-French, and gender-indeterminate monikers” disassemble what Leigh Gilmore, scholar of female autobiographies and representation, calls the “chain of identity,” or an identity that is maintained through the “progressive, motivated, and linked signification of sex, gender, and sexuality.”⁵⁴ By assuming a gender-neutral name, it corresponds with the doubling and transferring of identity, and an imagined life made real. The neutrality of their identities is in part to have their work respected within the male-dominated field. Yet, they actively chose to identify themselves within their own world, one that is in-between female and male. By Cahun and Moore adopting gender-neutral names they created a “lesbianization,” and a neutral symbolic space that reshuffled the traditional binary of gender signifiers.⁵⁵

In her 2002 article “Entre Nous,” Latimer addresses the concern with associating the word lesbian with Cahun and Moore; she notes that because it is doubtful that either Cahun or Moore would have accepted this or any similar label. If they *had* employed the term they would likely have used it to describe a disposition – “noncooperation with God,” as Cahun referred, rather than a categorical identity. Latimer continues, that *lesbian* acts as a placeholder for the environment the two lived in, along with their association with the Women of the Left Bank who forged strong same-sex emotional, erotic, and cultural bonds.⁵⁶

Identity Theory

⁵⁴ Latimer, “Entre Nous,” 201. Also see Leigh Gilmore, “An Anatomy of Absence: Written on the Body, The Lesbian Body, and Autobiography without Names,” in *The Gay '90s: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Formations in Queer Studies*, edited by Thomas Foster, Carol Siegel, and Ellen E. Berry, 224-252. New York, NY: New York University Press, 1997.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 202.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 199-200. The topic of Cahun/Moore’s lesbianism will be discussed in a later section of this thesis.

In the co-authored 2009 book, sociologist and theorist Peter Burke alongside social psychologist Jan Stets note, "the individual achieves selfhood at that point at which he first begins to act towards himself in more or less the same fashion in which he acts towards other people. This reflective behavior is the core of the self."⁵⁷ When Lucy Schwob embraced her identity as gender-neutral, androgynous, and in-between, she fully became Claude Cahun not only outwardly, but also to herself. Through Moore accepting this identity and then photographing her as Cahun, the identity is made real to the surrounding social environment.

The ideology that we have many selves is not a new theory and can be traced to American philosopher and psychologist, William James in the 1890's. He was one of the first to state that we have as many selves as the number of people we have the potential to interact with. Since James's first writings on multiple selves, the various stemming theories have shifted slightly. We now talk about possessing multiple identities, not selves, but the basic tenants remain the same. In its most simplistic form, we take on many identities over our lifetime, and at any given point we might have many identities that can be activated.⁵⁸ George Herbert Mead, American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist, began working in the twentieth century on the theory of the self and investigated how one might present themselves with different 'selves' or identities. Mead's theory asserts the formula that society shapes the self, which in turn shapes one's social behavior. Mead's "self reflects society" theory implies that the self is multifaceted, and made up of interdependent and independent, mutually reinforcing and conflicting parts.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Peter J. Burke, and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory*. (Oxford; New York;: Oxford University Press, 2009): 9.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 132.

⁵⁹ Stryker and Burke, "The Past, Present, and Future," 285-286.

One's understanding of the self can be inherently linked to how one understands the world around them. At the moment one begins to ask how they interact within this world, and with others, then the questions of whom and what they are becomes inherently linked to questions regarding the nature of reality. German philosopher, Georg Wilhelm Hegel's epistemological model from the early nineteenth century identifies that a specific individual obtains any knowledge of reality within a specific context. The nature of that individual, and how the individual affects the knowledge must be addressed. Therefore, an understanding of the self comes from the transformative effects on our understanding of the reality around us.⁶⁰ This means the self creates an imagined and idealized reality, as much as the self is created by the reality it exists in. The understanding of the self's motivations and interests will, in turn, give insights to one's desires.

Theorist Friedrich Nietzsche developed the theory of the 'decentered self' in which he notes that we typically think of ourselves as people with a personal identity that lasts over time and refers to our experiences. The notion of the self is that we have a personality with a history, and are a unified self that provides the platform for our actions and knowledge. When we give attention to a decentered notion of the self we take away the idea a person has a singular self.⁶¹ Through Nietzsche's view, this self is simply fiction and something we impose on the range of forces that make up who we are. Only through mastering discourses established by instincts are we able to create the illusion of a unified self. Further, Nietzsche notes that the self is not a "thing," and it is not something we carry with us as we interact within society. He states, "There is nothing stable about us. We are an intersection of forces that are forever in the process of

⁶⁰ Lorraine, *Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning*, 4-6.

⁶¹ Ibid., 11

becoming.”⁶² If an identity is merely a construction we place upon ourselves and is used more as a method of understanding the world around us, then Cahun's adoption of her identity allows her to assimilate into the reality she chooses. The girl from a French bourgeois family does not fit into the Surrealist circles in 1920's Paris, yet the identity of Cahun with her shaved head, prominent nose, and petite frame does. Subsequently, she adapts her identity to fit within the world where she wants to exist.

Modern identity theory, in short, can be defined as seeking to explain the meaning behind an individual having multiple identities, and how these identities relate to one another, including how they might effect behavior, thought, feelings, or emotions, and how these identities unite the person within their larger societal structure.⁶³ Burke describes an identity as, “the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person.”⁶⁴ He continues to note how as individuals we possess multiple identities because of the differing roles we occupy within society. We manifest a unique identity to fit a situation, our interactions within a group of people, and what specific role we play. This explains why an individual might adapt their sense of self to different situations they might find themselves in. Due to the fact that the self emerges from these differing social interactions within society, the self reflects this differentiation by changing behavior with each varying role.

Burke identifies four basic components that make up a single identity: an input, an identity standard, a comparator, and an output. These components work together in processing

⁶² Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for all and None* (Cambridge; New York;: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 196-198.

⁶³ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, 4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

the environment that makes “the self,” as well as influences from surrounding social situations. The processes are linked in a cyclical function, which shows how they operate to maintain the perceived self-meaning (Figure 7). For each identity, there is an identity standard, which contains the defining characteristics or set of meanings, of the identity. In the identity process, the main component is perceptions, which tells us about our environment and inform us to what is happening around us. These perceptions are the inputs to our identities, and they are the meanings in a specific situation that are most relevant to the identity. The comparator simply compares the input perceptions of meaning with the memory meanings behind the identity standard. This produces an error signal, which ultimately affects the patterns and signals of the verbal and nonverbal behavior. In the diagram (Figure 7) we see this flow of meaning from the environment where the inputs are perceived from the comparator and then associated to other meanings, the identity standard. Continuing, we follow this to the output of behavior, and then back to the situation where the behavior altered the meanings in the given situation. Burke noted three aspects of this function that cannot be ignored, “First, we are dealing with a *continuous loop* or *cycle* that is never ending. Second, we are dealing with *meaning* as the signal that flows through the cycle. Third, the cycle or loop of meaning is organized as a control system.”⁶⁵ This continual process of analysis and adjustments suggests that an identity is never static, and is perpetually reflecting what is experienced in the social surroundings.

The process of identity change, or identity change theory, indicates that a change in identity can occur in who one is within a group, who one is in a role, or who one is as a person. An identity’s resistance to change gives it a sense of stability, thus change may occur slowly and

⁶⁵ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, 62-67.

in response to the presence of constant pressure from any given source.⁶⁶ Constant societal pressures in France compelled Cahun and Moore to create a new form of existence that allowed them to live free from constraints.

Since surrounding societal structures impact an identity it can also be determined that another person can influence how a particular identity is constructed. This model is illustrated in Burke's Identity for Two Interacting Persons (Figure 8), which follows the identities of two people interacting. The identity of Person A functions as an individual identity would, and is reacting to external factors and changing its social behavior to accommodate those changes, what is called "Symbol and Resource Flows in Environment". However, these changes, in turn, influence the perceptions of Person B, which then prompt their identity to shift to work with both Person A and the societal environment. Person B also affects the "Symbol and Resource Flows in Environment" that then alters the perceptions of Person A. Both persons act in a cyclical and self-contained manner in this mutually supportive system to maintain the identities they have created. This model suggests Moore's influence on Cahun's identity: If Moore is the driving force that initiates the change in Schwob, then Schwob would shift her identity and become Cahun in accordance to Moore's influence on the social environment.

Moore, who aside from her gender-neutral pseudonym, is seen identifying more traditionally "female" and captures Cahun more "masculine" in attempts to document what she desires in a partner. By bringing the masculine Cahun of Moore's desires into visual reality, then what she truly desires can be put into words. These words or language can be reflected back to Cahun's unconscious and influences how she envisions her own identity because she in turn desires Moore. Following a similar structure to Burke's model for Identity for Two Interacting

⁶⁶ Peter J. Burke, "Identity Change." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2006): 92.

Persons (Figure 8), the following map was made by the author to follow the flow of desire between Moore and Cahun and to show how this manifests itself in their artwork and differing identities (Figure 9).

In the diagram, Figure 9, we see Suzanne Malherbe through her mode of artistic production creating the feminine identity of Marcel Moore, which she occupies. Within this feminine identity, her desire becomes isolated and is then expressed through her efforts in photographing Lucy Schwob/ Claude Cahun. She desires what is “Other” from her, a masculine Lucy Schwob, or what becomes “Claude Cahun.” The act of photographing in turn informs the mode of artistic production and continues to maintain Moore's tendency to present in a more feminine light.

Lucy Schwob and her active participation in making the photographic image also influence the same mode of artistic production, which we see as being fed by Moore's photography. In turn, the identity of “Claude Cahun” is manifested and presented as the more masculine identity. With the masculine identity of “Claude Cahun” being placed opposite of Marcel Moore's more feminine identity it becomes a catalyst for desire. Cahun's desire is expressed through her writings as they are directed towards Suzanne Malherbe/ Marcel Moore, and these writings are seen as Cahun's mode of artistic production.

This model (Figure 9) allows for the individual to maintain their identity within an isolated environment. Looking exclusively at Cahun's identity, we see Schwob influencing the mode of artistic production, which then prompts the creation of Claude Cahun and the masculine presentation. This identity allows for the desire she has for Moore to influence her production of writing causing the cycle to continue into the mode of artistic production for Moore to then interact with. This model not only functions to perpetuate the individual identity

but also to maintain the pair's identities. Cahun's masculine identity and masculine desire necessitate Moore's feminine identity and desire, and vice versa. Both the masculine and feminine are utilized to enforce the legitimacy of the other's identity. In the unpublished manuscript of Cahun's *Jeux uranies* (1914), she writes "Je suis l'oeuvre de ta vie" and has been cited as being directed towards Moore as they had developed many projects together at this point. In this publication, Cahun responds to the sexologist theory of *uranian*.⁶⁷ Here, Cahun recognizes that Moore influences her behaviors, and she shifts from Schwob to Cahun because of this. Cahun acknowledges that Moore is active in her efforts to create the identity of "Cahun." She occupies the space of Moore's desire, and through that desire, she created her artistic works. Evidence of Moore's desire for Cahun can be traced to their first meeting and their first artistic collaborations.

Through this desire, sexual or otherwise, it acts as an extension of "feminine autoerotic drives" or as a type of transgender identification on the part of one of the partners. The identification being Cahun as she presents herself more aligned with the stereotypically masculine aspects of the gender binary. The autoerotic dialogue between Cahun and Moore makes the distinction between female sexuality and female homosexuality problematic. Cahun's "self-authored portraits" evoke a likeness and a difference in her identity, and create the relationship between a doubled internal image that Cahun sees of herself with an external point

⁶⁷ Claude Cahun, *Jeux uranies*, "I am the work of your life," unpublished manuscript, 1914, 34. Quoted in Gen Doy, *Claude Cahun: A Sensual Politics of Photography*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007): 32. Uranian, is a 19th-century term that was used in reference to a person of a third sex, or homosexual men and women. German homosexual activist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was first to publish the term that appeared in a series of booklets published in 1864-1865. Similarly, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, in *Psychopathia Sexualis*, divided lesbians into four categories, in each case linking lesbian 'characteristics' to the rejection of conventional female social roles, cross-dressing and 'masculine' traits. 'Uranism', as he termed it, could be discerned in women dressing in a mannish way.

of self-regard, Moore's view through the camera. This offers an alternative to the representations of the same-sex partnership as one self-contained cycle.⁶⁸

Cahun and Moore were not an isolated phenomenon in their presentation as gender neutral or even "cross-dressing" within the Surrealist movement. Possibly the most known example is Marcel Duchamp's persona of R(r)ose Sélavy, who was "born" while Duchamp was in New York in 1920, and can be seen in Man Ray's photograph (Figure 10). This persona was so pervasive in Duchamp's life and work she often signed personal letters, over twenty artworks, published *The Green Box* (1934), founded two businesses (a fashion boutique and fabric-dyeing industry), authored essays and a book of puns. The female persona served him not only as a "long term performance of Duchamp in drag," but also functioned within the consistent theme of androgyny in Duchamp's work, androgyny. The identity of R(r)ose supports the concept of fluidity and dreams in surrealist ideology. As with Duchamp, Cahun and Moore each create their identities and bring their unconscious into consciousness, perhaps making their constructed identities a reality.⁶⁹

The formation of identity is also contingent on gender, and what makes a feminine identity or a masculine identity. As described in, feminist and philosophy scholar Tamsin Lorraine's publication, *Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning*, when girls and boys develop a deep personal identification with the mother during their formative years. For girls, it is easier to maintain a consistent sense of identification with the mother on a daily and continuous basis, due to the fact they share the same sex. However, boys must replace this early

⁶⁸ Latimer, "Looking Like a Lesbian" dissertation, 94.

⁶⁹ Deborah Johnson, "R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray: Reconsidering the Alter Ego of Marcel Duchamp," *Art Journal* 72, 1 (2013): 81.

identification with a masculine form. If we are following a stereotypical heterosexual familial model, the father would most likely be working outside of the home, so the boy must identify with a fantasized masculine identity. This attributes to the boy to “define masculinity as that which is not feminine or involves women.”⁷⁰ An early connection between daughter and mother can attribute to a strong sense of feminine identity. In her memoirs, Cahun describes a moment between herself and her mother where she writes,

Maman named me ‘my little pig’! [*mon petit crochon* [sic]] She pushed back the end of my nose. It saddened her to admit that, despite everything, I did not have a Greek nose. My ears, which slightly stuck out, made her sad. Just like the nose: ‘it is small; it would be completely pretty if... Your ears would be perfect, my little pig, if you are willing...’ I let her do it. She made me wear a bonnet.⁷¹

In this passage, Cahun describes her failures as a little girl to live up to the ideals of her mother and her culture. She does not possess the qualities associated with the traditional beauty of a Greek nose but instead has features that point to her Jewishness. This not only isolates her within 1890’s French society that was becoming more and more anti-Semitic but also distances her from her mother who comments on the young girl’s lack of conventional beauty. The separation then severs the connection in identity between the young girl and the mother. This one instant in her life does not cause the entire rejection of her childhood identity; however, it can attribute to her disdain regarding the ideas of having a traditionally female name and traditionally female presentation. She can no longer look to her mother as an example of a feminine identity, so she must find one elsewhere. Subsequently, Cahun rejects the notions of a

⁷⁰ Lorraine, *Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning*, 88.

⁷¹ Claude Cahun, ‘Confidences au miroir,’ in *Écrits*, 618. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 16-17.

feminine identity altogether and connects with her uncle, Marcel Schwob, whom she idolizes in his profession and life.⁷²

All of Claude Cahun's work can be interpreted as autobiographical because they feature herself as a subject. Gilmore's 1994 publication, *Autobiographics: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation*, discusses the female autobiography as an apparatus for designing an identity that can co-exist with the authors true identity, or replace the true identity entirely. In this space both gender and identity converge, and are produced through various discourses that present the individual in relation to what we conceive as truth and real. Through literature, and a photograph, the identity of the author/photographer is "constructed wholly as a reading effect, as a subject position, or as an object or discursive production."⁷³ Not only is the viewer reading Cahun's writing or looking at her in photographs thus creating the identity of Claude Cahun for themselves, but so is Marcel Moore.

In the 1956 work by Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, he presents a split in the self, between for-itself (human consciousness) and in-itself (brute existence). The consciousness always acts within the consciousness *of something*. The in-itself "cannot realize itself, an affirmation which cannot affirm itself, and an activity which cannot act, because it is glued to

⁷² Marcel Schwob was well connected with notable artists and authors including Jules Renard, Oscar Wilde, Marcel Proust, Édouard Manet, Auguste Rodin, and Camille Claudel. Schwob worked on Wilde's play *Salomé* that was translated into French to avoid the British obscenity laws. He also had an interest in French slang that appeared often in his writings, similar to Cahun's interest in play on words that she would use. Though Schwob was married to a woman, there is evidence pointing to his homosexuality, which is another reason Cahun connected so intimately with him.

⁷³ Leigh Gilmore, *Autobiographics: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994): 17-18.

itself.”⁷⁴ Humans perpetually put their reality into question, and thereby open a hole in the heart of being by considering itself as nonbeing. In terms of Sartre's theories, one exists as a for-itself for other for-itselfs, and can be freely apprehended by them in light of ends that are not one's own. Since the “Other” apprehends one as an Other-as-object, reducing the free conduct into objective form, one's freedom is limited. The “Other” informs you of who you are, and though the things others say about one's self (i.e. ugly, brilliant, cowardly, powerful, a Jew, etc.) cannot in fact refer to whom one is because one is a free nothingness that projects itself towards infinite possibilities. Sartre proposes that human behavior can be understood by viewing the original way in which each individual has chosen his being.⁷⁵ Following Sartre's thinking, when looking at Cahun, we must ignore what others may say about her identity, but look at how she identifies herself. She is a “free nothingness” in how she projects herself and is inherently true to her identity. Sartre's theories easily connect to Burke's notions of how external factors (culturally, socially, politically, etc.) can influence how one's identity is created.

By looking at identity or the self through a sociological lens, feminist scholar Judith Butler questions the basis of understanding one's state of being and existence in reality, and the differing roles and functions an individual assumes within a social position. Butler notes that within a philosophical discourse ‘the person’ occupies the assumption that whatever social context a person is in, they remain externally related to the social and gendered structure of personhood. More importantly “the ‘coherence’ and ‘continuity’ of ‘the person’ are not logical or analytic features of personhood,” yet the “identity” is maintained through socially stabilized

⁷⁴ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes (New York: Washington Square Press, 1956), p.27. Quoted in Lorraine, Tasmine E. *Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning* 151-152.

⁷⁵ Lorraine, *Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning*, 152-156.

notions of gender, sex, and sexuality. This very concept of “the person” that Butler calls into question emerges from incoherent and discontinued gendering established by the cultural intelligibility in which “the person” is typically defined.⁷⁶ Through the photographic and textual evidence found in the portraits taken of Cahun in the 1920’s both Moore and Cahun were interested in questioning the meaning of identity, gender, and the idea of a natural self.⁷⁷ When encountering Cahun and Moore’s work one must ask: where is their identity located or produced? Is it something existing internally or just manifested and visualized externally? Is an identity something created by ourselves, or given to us by the cultural conventions in which we are placed in? Our body presents itself to the world and allows the world to see us in a specific way as one that is manipulated and manufactured, rather than naturally inherent. Others obtain an understanding of us through our outward presentation to the world, mostly from how we look and from what we might say. Cahun denaturalizes her identity and presents herself as a visual and literary enigma, as she asks these questions regarding identity.⁷⁸ She positions herself within the discourse of a ‘true identity’ and what might be unique to us as just a role one plays to conform to or reject socio-cultural pressures. Evidence of Moore’s presence and influence on Cahun’s identity can be seen through various photographs that display Cahun as the subject.

⁷⁶ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 22-23.

⁷⁷ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 63-64.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 99-100.

CHAPTER 3: EVIDENCE OF COLLABORATION: MOORE'S PRESENCE IN INDIVIDUAL PHOTOGRAPHS

Throughout the broad scope of Cahun's photographs, Marcel Moore's presence is visible in many of the images. Scholars, notably Tirza True Latimer, are beginning to recognize these "self-portraits" are mislabeled and call for the photographs to be acknowledged as a joint effort between the two women. Latimer notes that the self-portrait label effectively "efface[s] the collaborative nature of 'Cahun's' photographic project by dissimilating the presence of someone else behind the camera."⁷⁹ In part because of Latimer's work, the photographs are now more consistently interpreted as co-authored, rather than singularly of Cahun's making. Given the two lived together and were both artists, they more often than not collaborated and assisted each other to complete various projects. Latimer notes that stored in Cahun's archive are multiple rolls of film in pockets and negatives in film sleeves that show Moore's name equally as often as Cahun's. The archive also preserves images of both Cahun and Moore that were taken in the same setting, thus informing us of Moore's involvement in the photographic process.⁸⁰ Where one woman was the model while the other was the photographer and then they simply switched places to create the two different photographs.

One example of this role reversal is seen in the photograph posthumously titled *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11). This photograph provides evidence of the two women working together, as does *Marcel Moore, 1928* (Figure 12): in both images, one acted as photographer first then moved to model as the other took over the role as photographer. In *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11) Cahun stands in front of a mirror that is hung on an otherwise blank wall. Behind

⁷⁹ Latimer, "Looking like a Lesbian" dissertation 71-72.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 199.

her is a simple black dresser and positioned on top is a photograph in a folding frame. The picture frame is cropped to the edge of the image where only the right side can be seen. The photograph in the frame appears to be a portrait of a man holding a cat. We do not know who this man might be, but perhaps it is a close family member or friend due to its prominent placement. The mirror hanging on the wall is plain with a simple frame, and the painting of a landscape above is again cropped at the edge of the composition.

In this image, Cahun reverses and contradicts typical feminine imagery and presentation. She wears a checkered harlequin jacket that is neither conventionally male nor female dress. She is, instead, androgynous with cropped hair too short for the fashionable 1920's bob. Cahun and her reflection embody both traditionally understood masculine and feminine traits. Her extreme short hair is a quality seen as "masculine" but dyed blonde that could be interpreted as a more "feminine" quality. Alternatively, Cahun's "feminine" face is shown wearing light makeup and is obscured by the masculine jacket she wears. Cahun performs as both the "straight" masculine and the feminine roles, thus complicating any straightforward association with a gendered identity.

Professor at the University of Sydney, Natalya Lusty asserts in her 2007 book, that these "early 'straight' portraits of herself cross-dressed," like in *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11), "tap into a partially coded representation of lesbian identity through the historically specific category of the female dandy."⁸¹ The "lesbian identity" and "lesbian style" became ambiguous and fluid throughout the 1920's. It was only until after English novelist Radclyffe Hall's 1928 obscenity trial over her controversial novel, *The Well of Loneliness*, when modern European society viewed female homosexuality as inherently linked with "mannish lesbians" and "mannish dress." Before

⁸¹ Lusty, *Surrealism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*, 115.

the trial, women dressed in a dandified look were seen as modern and fashionable.⁸² Later, this style became negatively associated with spinsters, feminists, intellectual women, Englishness, and upper-class identities.⁸³

In many of Cahun's images, including *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11), clothes are an important 'theatrical' element. However, fashion and clothing play a major role in how one views oneself within a society, culture, and a specific gender assignment. John Flügel, an English psychologist, published *The Psychology of Clothes* and later *Men and their Motives* in the 1930s and both works became important psychoanalytical studies used to describe fashion's influence on sexual difference. Flügel addressed the ways political and social change may affect how clothing reflects bodily and psychic traits within an individual. Flügel theorized, "sexual difference is created in part through men's and women's different habits and conventions with regard to clothing and fashion."⁸⁴ He continues the argument through observations of socialization, noting that as a human infant moves from its "sexually undifferentiated state into one in which he or she is marked culturally through the successful attainment of masculinity or femininity, clothes become one of the means in which the reality of sexual difference is experienced" both as a psychological process as well as a physical process.⁸⁵ In short, his studies find that clothing, fashion, and the choices one makes in dressing plays a key role in the construction and maintenance of sexual and gendered identity.

⁸² Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism*, 107.

⁸³ Doy, *Claude Cahun*, 94.

⁸⁴ John C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: L. & V. Woolf at the Hogarth Press, and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1930), 198-200. Also see Natalya Lusty, *Surrealism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

In the aforementioned photograph, Cahun's hand grasps the lapel of the jacket but does not pull it with any force. We can see in the reflection that her hand is gently holding the jacket, which contrasts the masculine demeanor Cahun is exhibiting. One of the most interesting aspects of this photograph, and contrary to typical behavior is that Cahun does not look at herself in the mirror but turns her gaze to the camera. In her reflection, we see her neck turned, and instead of soft supple "feminine" skin, the tendons pulled tight display "masculine" power and strength. Her jawline and nose are presented prominently and echo the shape made by the jacket's collar. *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11) examines reality and illusion by revealing two different sides of the same face. Though the two angles represent the same moment in time, they are viewed as two differing expressions and even two distinct selves. Lusty observes, "here, 'the double' sets up a dialectic of self and other, of subject and object which is echoed in the black and white checks of Cahun's shirt," which she believes is representative of the photographic process itself. Lusty continues in her observation, "the positive and negative of a photographic image, one necessarily being the same by also the reverse of the other."⁸⁶ Cahun's doubling through the use of the mirror, and by her bodily presence and reflection comment on her multiplicity of identity. As viewers, we ask which of the figures is real? Which one should we believe?⁸⁷

As Shaw sees it, Cahun's eyes in the reflected image turn away from the viewer and herself in "a rejection of self-absorbed narcissistic self-regard."⁸⁸ Further, the photograph is not a manifestation of narcissism, but rather the site of narcissism's drowning. Shaw interprets Cahun's portrait (Figure 11) as a "magic mirror," however not in a straightforward sense, but

⁸⁶ Lusty, *Surrealism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*, 89.

⁸⁷ A topic of further research could explore the elements of drag in relation to Cahun's appearance and presentation.

⁸⁸ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 105-109.

rather as an image where the self is dissolved and “the exchange, the superimposition, the fusion of desires can be imagined.”⁸⁹

As Cahun looks to the camera it appears as though she is looking at us, the viewer, yet she is in fact looking at Moore who is positioned behind the camera. This can be inferred because we do not see a shutter release cord that connects to the camera’s lens within the photograph.⁹⁰ However, this can be discounted because of the photograph, *Marcel Moore* (Figure 12), which shows her in the same position as Cahun. As such, *Marcel Moore* (Figure 12) supports the theory that Cahun’s gaze is being directed towards Moore, rather than herself through the camera as a mirror. The angle of the mirror is identical between the two photographs (Figure 11 and Figure 12), which indicates the camera did not move and the women simply reversed roles as model and photographer. There are slight differences to be noted. Moore’s portrait (Figure 12) is cropped more closely to the figure than in Cahun’s. We do not see the same framed image on the dresser that appears in *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11). The contrast in *Marcel Moore* is also much higher, where the tonality of *Self-Portrait, 1928* is muted and shows more grey tones. Another instance where Moore’s and Cahun’s portraits deviate from one another is that Moore is looking into the mirror. She does not turn away from her reflection like Cahun, yet she does not look at herself either. Her eyes are directed to the camera, and meet the gaze of Cahun who is looking through the camera’s viewfinder. By engaging with one another in the photographic

⁸⁹ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 105-109.

⁹⁰ Unless the camera was operating on a timer, Cahun would have needed to trigger the shutter through a cord connecting her to the camera, which is an element that would have been visible within the composition.

process the pair creates what Latimer has called an “erotic collaboration,” where the act of photographing becomes intertwined with female homosexuality.⁹¹

With this understanding of both images, Cahun’s defiant gaze to the viewer in contrast to Moore’s is viewed as determined seduction. Latimer describes the two portraits as approaching an intermediate, or an indeterminate position from two different angles. The point where these angles converge allows for the lesbian subject to cohere within the eye of the beholder, that being Moore’s eye.⁹² For Latimer, the inclusion of the mirror is an important symbol for Moore and Cahun’s lesbian relationship. Latimer cites American sexologist, Havelock Ellis, who introduced the figure of Narcissus into the homosexual psychoanalytical discourse in his 1898 paper, “Auto-Erotism, a Psychoanalytical Study.” In this paper, Ellis re-gendered the mythological persona and represented this self-preoccupied type as feminine, or the effeminate male. He describes,

[the] tendency which is sometimes found, more especially perhaps in women, for the sexual emotions to be absorbed, and often entirely lost in self-admiration. This narcissus-like tendency, of which the normal germ in women is symbolized by the mirror, is found in minor degree in some feminine minded men.⁹³

Into the nineteenth century, narcissism was often linked in the imagination with femininity and with lesbianism. Society’s ideology concerning homosexuality was influenced by the idea of an erotic attraction to the self. The First World War changed the public’s perceptions of homosexuality within society and culture. With men being isolated in the trenches, it was

⁹¹ Latimer, “Looking like a Lesbian,” dissertation 95-97.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Havelock Ellis, “Auto-Erotism, a Psychological Study,” cited in Latimer “Looking Like A Lesbian” dissertation 93. The word *narcissism* originates from the Greek myth of Narcissus, a man who thought himself so beautiful he fell in love with his own reflection in a pond. He was so transfixed by his own beauty that he stared at his reflection until he died.

believed they sought companionship with one another and would desire each other narcissistically.⁹⁴ Cahun included numerous references to mirrors in her photographs including her portrait of herself and Moore, as well as in the photomontages in *Aveux non Avenus*, an element that can be interpreted as a discussion of the social interpretations of homosexuality.

The growth and repairing of major European cities after the war also created a rise of underground homosexual cultures. France, like other countries involved in the war, saw the majority of able-bodied men leaving the industrial and urban centers for the frontlines, allowing women to move into these social and cultural positions where they had previously been excluded. Due to this elevation in female standing, the figure of 'the modern woman' soon emerged. In France, particularly Paris, this 'modern woman' became *les garçonnnes*, a feminized spelling of boy. *Les garçonnnes* influenced the masculinization of the female body through the adoption of a 'homosexual' aesthetic by women cutting their hair, slimming their bodies, forgoing motherhood, and pursuing athletics. While *les garçonnnes* can be interpreted as a fashion movement rather than a sexual revolution, the Ladies of the West Bank connected Cahun and Moore to other homosexual female couples in the art and literary circles. The Ladies of the West Bank was a group of American and English expatriate women who became intimately connected with the avant-garde modernist movement in Paris. Many of these women were in homosexual relationships and met at the bookstore Shakespeare and Company located on the west bank. Notable lesbian couples like Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, Adrienne Monnier and Sylvia Beach, Bryher and H.D., Natalie Barney and Romaine Brooks, Radclyffe Hall and Una

⁹⁴ Amy Lyford, *Surrealist Masculinities: Gender Anxiety and the Aesthetics of Post-World War I Reconstruction in France*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 143.

Throubridge resisted the social and biological imperatives of traditional female roles and opted for same-sex partnerships.⁹⁵

There is no existing evidence that Cahun and Moore wrote explicitly about their artistic collaboration. They also did not comment on their status as an intimate couple. However in 1925, Cahun wrote in her publication, “Meditation de Mademoiselle Lucie Schwob” saying, “My opinion of homosexuality and homosexuals is exactly the same as my opinion of heterosexuality and heterosexuals: everything depends on the individual and the circumstance.”⁹⁶ While there is no evidence that Moore and Cahun were romantic partners, her own words indicate Cahun’s interest in homosexuality and the equal rights for homosexuals at the time. Nevertheless, the homosexual relationship between Cahun and Moore informs their artistic collaboration and acts in opposition to their heterosexual bourgeois upbringing.⁹⁷

An early 1919 artistic representation of the relationship between Cahun and Moore can be seen in Cahun’s *Duogram Drawing* (Figure 13). On a torn piece of paper, Cahun renders the creative dynamic relationship between herself and Moore. At the top of the drawing are the letters “L.S.,” which represent the name Lucy Schwob and transition into the letters “S.M.” that represent Suzanne Malherbe. The combination of their initials pivots on a shared sign, “S,” and are a self-complementing element that turns the singular into the plural, thus combining Schwob with Malherbe/Cahun with Moore in a same-sex female relationship. When spoken out loud,

⁹⁵ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 50. Also see Andrea Weiss, *Paris was a Woman: Portraits from the Left Bank*, San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 1995; and Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900–1940*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1986.

⁹⁶ Lucie Schwob (Claude Cahun), “Meditation de Mademoiselle Lucie Schwob,” *Philosophies*, 5–6, 1925. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 66–67. The statement that Cahun and Moore never wrote on their relationship is based on what has survived World War II and is now in their archive on the Isle of Jersey.

⁹⁷ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 50–55, 110.

the letters “L.S.M” sounds like “elle s’aiment” translating to “they love each other,” or alternatively “they love themselves.”⁹⁸ The connection of the two women is represented not only through the combination of letters but also visually. As a signifier, there is a pair of lips that include the name Lucy Schwob written where the upper and lower lips meet. From these lips, a hand is rendered wearing a type of armor and reaching upwards. The lips are balanced atop an eye, which can be interpreted as an *I* or *ego*, and contains the text, Suzanne Malherbe. The entire construction balances on a single foot that wears a high-heeled shoe.⁹⁹ Behind the foot appears the initials “L.S.M.” again, though smaller and in a different style of writing. The inclusion of this seems to be an early attempt at the design and was not erased completely.

In these ways, *Duogram Drawing* can be seen as a representation of her artistic and intimate relationship with Moore. The lips are Cahun's (Schwob's) main outlet for expression through her use of language, alternatively, the eye is Moore's (Malherbe's) mode of expression from her skills in graphic design. Cahun speaks, writes, and performs, while Moore conceptualizes and visualizes. In terms of their emotional relationship, Latimer interprets this image as Cahun reaching for the sky (seen through the hand), and Moore's position below both balancing and grounding her.¹⁰⁰ In this drawing, we also see Cahun's devotion to Moore. They are connected, not only through their art but in their identities as well. In referencing identity theory, this supports one identity being created through the influence of another. Cahun creates

⁹⁸ Latimer, “Entre Nous,” 205. Also in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 112.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

her artwork from the desire and support of Moore, while Moore works from the devotion of Cahun.¹⁰¹

The previous examples show Moore as an active part of the artistic process even when she does not physically appear in the image. As seen in the portraits (Figure 11 and Figure 12), Moore's position behind the camera is apparent in many of Cahun's "self-portraits," which is also true in *Self-Portrait, 1927* (Figure 15). In this photograph, Cahun's face, painted white, extends forward against the dark space behind her and in contrast to the black fabric across her chest. A small piece of Cahun's light clothing emerges from beneath the black cloth at the bottom left corner of the photograph. By looking at other images from Cahun it can be assumed that Cahun/Moore intended to crop the image in order to exclude this element that distracts the viewer from Cahun's face and arms. She has outlined her lips, her eyes, her hairline, and traced her left eyebrow with a darker color that makes her appear like a flat line drawing rather than a three-dimensional person. Her facial expression is neutral and gives no indication to any specific emotion as she stares into the camera. Cahun's arms are painted in a slightly darker color than her face, and similarly stand out from the dark room behind her. There is a reflective chrome orb held within her arms. The reflection of her arms creates a halo effect around the outside edge of the orb. The image has a shallow depth of field that blurs any detail in the background and adds to Cahun's commanding presence and demands the viewer's attention.

¹⁰¹ Cahun's *Duogram Drawing* (Figure 13) is reminiscent of the Surrealist game of The Exquisite Corpse. When compared to Yves Tanguy, Joan Miró, Max Morise, and Man Ray, *Cadavre Exquis, 1927* (Figure 14) the visual disjunction between sections are similar. However, Cahun's drawing was not passed from one hand to the next or folded to keep the previous addition secret. Cahun was also involved in the Surrealist movement, so it is not a stretch to believe that she was influenced by the group for her own work.

Looking closely at the orb the space Cahun is facing becomes visible within the reflection. There is a large square of white light that is probably a window or the light source that was used to illuminate Cahun's face and arms. The light spills onto the floor of the room, and viewers are allowed to enter the studio space where Cahun is being photographed. Placed between the window and Cahun is what appears to be a table is most likely supporting the camera, and behind the camera one can see the operator, Marcel Moore. The light from the window encircles Moore and appears as a halo around her. Moore's "halo" elevates her within the photograph, and identifies her as an important part of the pair's creative process.

The composition of *Self-Portrait, 1927* (Figure 15) can be interpreted in a similar way to Cahun's *Duogram Drawing* (Figure 13) from about a decade earlier. Moore is positioned in the bottom third of the image, acting as the base, and supports Cahun who occupies the space above. She creates the composition by framing Cahun within the photograph and allowing her to be the focus. Within the context of surrealist photographic aesthetics, Cahun and Moore utilize a mixture of seduction and horror. In *Self-Portrait, 1927* (Figure 15) Cahun is not displaying what was traditionally understood as feminine beauty, rather, her painted face and arms make her appear ghost-like as she emerges from the darkened room. The transfixing nature of the photographed subject is where the surrealist notion of the erotic takes shape. As Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau have suggested, "[v]ision then becomes the medium of this represented eroticism," and this vision attempts to make images that have the "ability to break through the barrier of the visible."¹⁰² Cahun, whose face is in the forefront of the photograph, acts as the performer of the pair.

¹⁰² Honor Lasalle and Abigail Solomon-Godeau. "Surrealist Confession: Claude Cahun's Photomontages." *Afterimage* 19, 8 (1992): 4.

Recently, scholars have recognized the numerous examples where Moore is present in photographs of Cahun as the subject. Another instance of Moore's reflection can be seen in *Portrait, Isle of Jersey* made in 1938 (Figure 16). Cahun sits in a window of their home on the Isle of Jersey; the panes of the window are open, and her elbow is outside the window frame. In her arms is one of her beloved cats, witho looks at the camera as Cahun looks downwards. Unlike many of her other portraits, Cahun appears more "traditionally feminine" since she is wearing a top that exposes her arms and her chest, as well as a necklace. The window is surrounded by ivy that covers the stone walls of their home. The dark foliage creates a vignette on the edges of the frame that draws the viewer's attention towards the center of the photograph where Cahun is positioned. Shadows that are distinct but not harsh are cast on the wall at an angle indicating it was either early or late in the day when the photograph was made. The composition of the photograph is slightly tilted towards the left, which indicates the camera was being handheld when the image was captured. The vertical lines of the window frame are not parallel and move to meet at the top of the photograph. Due to Moore's positioning of the camera below Cahun and looking up to the window making the bottom appear larger because it is closer to the lens.

While Cahun is the focus of the photograph light fills the room behind her. On the left side, the edge of window shutters or a doorframe is visible, as well as a large mirror behind Cahun that faces the window. In the mirror we see the structure of the window, the back of Cahun and the cat she holds in her arms, and another person who faces Cahun and the mirror. Though it is difficult to make out specific identifying features of the person, it can be assumed this is Marcel Moore. The main figure of Cahun initially captures the viewer's attention, yet the eye is pulled to the mirror and the set of figures in the background. This is due to the reflected light in the mirror being the brightest element in the photograph, and the eye is naturally drawn

towards the lighter elements. With the viewer's eye directed to the mirror, one quickly notices an extra reflection that only appears in the mirror: it is Moore.

Moore's reflection in various photographs, whether intentional or accidental, supports scholars' use of a homosexual reading of the pair's work, and the idea of a homosexual female gaze. Traditionally in art history 'The Gaze' or 'The Male Gaze' is understood as a male observer looking at a female subject. Artworks from the second half of the nineteenth century depicting a man and a woman in the same work, as Professor of History at Northern Illinois University Stephen Kern has summarized, typically "rendered the face and eyes of the woman with greater detail and in more light," allowing male viewers to more easily look at the female subject.¹⁰³ The gaze is also associated with pleasure and knowledge, yet both of these act in the service of power, manipulation, and desire.¹⁰⁴ Moore's gaze at Cahun through the camera suggests her role in constructing the identity of "Cahun" in the images. Through the creation of these images "Claude Cahun" is cemented into reality and Lucy Schwob slowly diminishes. Art historian, Margaret Olin, notes that there exists "a struggle over the gaze: one gets to look, to be master of the gaze; the other (or Other) is looked at." Continuing, Olin suggests that when an image is visually acknowledged the separate persons become one identity, and the 'subject/object' becomes a possession of the one who is gazing. The image "enters another's body through the window of the eyes and ceases to lead a separate life."¹⁰⁵ By acknowledging the existence of "Cahun" visually as a separate identity from Lucy Schwob, Moore also assumes Cahun as a part of her own identity. Both women affect one another and influenced how they acted and appeared within

¹⁰³ Stephen Kern, *Eyes of Love: The Gaze in English and French Paintings and Novels, 1840-1900*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 7.

¹⁰⁴ Margaret Olin, "Gaze," in *Critical Terms for Art History Second Edition*, edited by Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, 318-329, (Chicago, I.L: The University of Chicago Press, 2003): 319.

¹⁰⁵ Olin, "Gaze," 327.

society. Cahun's identity as viewed by Moore, being her production and something she 'owns' adds to the importance of her presence behind the camera. Moore sees Cahun not only "through the window of the eyes," but through the window of the camera, the camera that captures the identity of "Cahun" as Moore sees her, and then extends the intimate gaze to the viewer. The intimate mode of looking through the homosexual female gaze allows Moore's desire for Cahun to be fully realized. Moore's gaze is constructed out of desire, however it is not an objectifying gaze often associated with the traditional understanding of the male gaze. The homosexual female gaze, originating from Moore's action of photographing Cahun allows viewers to see Cahun in the way that Moore captures her. At times it is motivated by a project the two women are working, and other times it is a simple document of their lives together.

Looking again at *Portrait, Isle of Jersey* (Figure 16) Moore gazes at Cahun through the camera, but Cahun does not return the gaze. Here, Moore uses the camera as an apparatus for her desire for Cahun, and by looking through the camera's viewfinder Moore sees Schwob, transforming her into the identity that becomes "Claude Cahun." Here, Cahun is a passive participant and accepts the gaze of others. Alternatively, in *Self-Portrait, 1928* (Figure 11), Cahun looks back, activating the space between herself and the lens, between herself and Moore and effectively returns Moore's desires and acknowledges herself as "Claude Cahun."

CHAPTER FOUR: COLLABORATIVE PROJECTS: *AVEUX NON AVENUS* AND *A SOLDIER WITHOUT A NAME*

While Cahun and Moore were fully involved with the Parisian Surrealist movement they created the book, *Aveux non Avenus* (Figure 17), and released it in 1930 in a single edition of 500 copies. Cahun scholar, Shaw notes the difficulty in translating the title *Aveux non Avenus*; it could be read as *Avowals Not Avowed*, *Confessions Not Confessed*, or *Avowals Null and Void*. She states, “it suggests not only that something is disavowed, but that both avowals and their negation appear at the same time. Whatever confessions have been made are immediately recanted, or were never really sworn to in the first place.”¹⁰⁶ This is seen on the cover of *Aveux non Avenus* (Figure 17). Moore's manipulation of typography reinforces the canceling dynamic that appears in the title as the words “non” create an X. The book's ten chapters use a mixture of Cahun's personal letters, diary entries, and other published essays. Each chapter is prefaced by a photomontage created by Moore and using images of Cahun. *Aveux non Avenus* is an intimate and self-reflective book that according to Honor Lasalle and Abigail Solomon-Godeau, “situates itself in that ambiguous space somewhere between fiction and autobiography.”¹⁰⁷ We do not know whether to believe Cahun's writing as truth or as fiction. By looking specifically at three chapters and their photomontages, *Aveux non Avenus* supports Cahun's creation of a unique identity, and again provides evidence for Moore's influence and manipulation of that identity. *Aveux non Avenus* provides another example, similar to *Vues et Visions*, where the skills of both women are combined and support the other to create a successful artistic project. As with other

¹⁰⁶ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 100.

¹⁰⁷ Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau, “Surrealist Confession,” 11.

aspects their personal lives, Cahun and Moore combine their artistic talents, writing and visual design to create one object, *Aveux non Avenus*.

Aveux non Avenus was largely complete by 1925, yet it differs from work by other Surrealist writers and photographers at the time with the doubled orientation of Cahun's poetic prose and Moore's photographic collages. Andrea Oberhuber, scholar of French literature asserts that the photomontages along with the text "transgress the boundaries of a transparent world to arrive in another, one that is more obscure and unfathomable."¹⁰⁸ Cahun's written text and Moore's images become intertwined, creating an extraordinary object of artistic and personal expression, and allowing their existence outside the rigid structures of reality. A letter addressed to Malherbe (Moore) dated 20 September 1920 is part of the text for Chapter II of *Aveux non Avenus*; in it, Cahun describes the intimacy of their artistic relationship. She writes,

Sweet, nevertheless, ... the moment when our two heads leaned together over a photograph (ah! How our hair would meld together indistinguishably). Portrait of one or the other, our two narcissisms drowning there, it was the impossible realized in a magic mirror. The exchange, the superimposition, the fusion of desires. The unity of the image achieved through the close friendship of two bodies – even if they send their souls to the devil!¹⁰⁹

Here Cahun alludes to their creative process together, where the two women are working to make a single photographic object. Like the photomontages blending with the text of *Aveux non Avenus*, "the exchange, the superimposition, the fusion of desires" is represented in their relationship with one another. The two women work together towards a single goal to create a cohesive and uniform artwork with the "unity of the image achieved through the close friendship of two bodies." Cahun describes their hair becoming entangled and indistinguishable alluding to

¹⁰⁸ Oberhuber, "Claude Cahun, Marcel Moore, Lise Deharme and the Surrealist Book," 47.

¹⁰⁹ Claude Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus (Disavowals)*, translated by Susan de Muth, (London: Tate Publishing, 2007), 12.

their relationship as they work together over photographs. She also writes, “our two narcissisms drowning there, it was the impossible realized in a magic mirror,” where she recognizes her photographs, made by Moore, allows for their lesbian relationship to be visualized in the mirror and thus, in a way, real. Cahun’s intersection and entanglement of her writing and photographic practice are vital in the expression of identity, the collecting of ideas, and use of masks through the means of photomontage.¹¹⁰ Moore’s influence on Cahun’s perceived identity is visible through her physical manipulation of the photomontages as she assembles, changes, and rephotographs “Claude Cahun.”

The photomontages reflect many of the goals of Surrealism. Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau identify a number of these aims as: “the denaturalization of vision, an uncompromised anti-realist bias, and...access to unconscious process through the operations of chance and the aleatory” in addressing Cahun’s photomontages in a Surrealist context.¹¹¹ These same characteristics are present in the text and image, reinforcing a sense of doubling through both the formal devices of photography and text. The text is assembled from diverse sources – including dialogues, dream narratives, poems, aphorisms, fables, and intimate letters written for private use. As such, *Aveux non Avenus*, reads like stream of consciousness writing and creates a detached and separated effect. In chapter nine of *Aveux non Avenus*, Cahun writes,

Sentimental education.

The dance of life: the dance of bears on sheets of white-hot metal. – Without touching it, without touching the victims: their illness is contagious.



He likes tormenting things. (Put yourself in his place!) He would prefer unbreakable toys. Is death his creation? For replenishing his stock he has not

¹¹⁰ Shaw, *Reading Claude Cahun’s Disavowals*, 41-47.

¹¹¹ Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau, “Surrealist Confession,” 11.

found better. But death does him a disservice. This means of escaping prematurely bothers him more than us.¹¹²

In this excerpt, there are two different topics being discussed in the same chapter. They are obliquely related (life and death), but they have different tones and moods that indicate they come from different sources. This is further underscored by the separation of prose by markers of differing shapes in each chapter: stars, hearts, and eyes. These symbols create forced separations that disassociate one phrase from the next. Again looking at the excerpt above, the break (referenced in this document by ☉) allows for the different sections to be deciphered and indicated by Cahun.

In her analysis of *Aveux non Avenus*, Shaw notes, “some of the texts – letters and diary entries – are dated and appear to fall in chronological order. Between them, however, the writing takes a variety of forms and follows no clear trajectory.”¹¹³ She points out that Cahun's writing is unlike more traditional self-questioning and introspective confessional writing because it contains a variety of voices and poetic negotiations leading to the discovery of a psyche that is unraveling rather than a self that remains whole. Cahun's *Aveux non Avenus* is more than negotiations and unravelings, but rather it is “about reimagining the self in a process without closure, on a journey undertaken not only by Cahun but also by her readers.”¹¹⁴ The ten chapter's subjects are all centered on the self. This scrutiny of self is described by Agnes Lhermitte, Cahun and Marcel Schwob scholar, as “a scalpel's investigation into the dark zones of the psyche, the painful gapping of a cracked being.”¹¹⁵ Cahun's kaleidoscopic text emphasizes her desire to find

¹¹² Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 187.

¹¹³ Shaw *Reading Claude Cahun's Disavowals*, 3

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7

¹¹⁵ Sarah Pucill, *Magic Mirror Exhibition Booklet*, (London: The Nunnery Gallery, 2015): 14.

existence in the in-between, and this fractured aesthetic being reflected in Moore's cut-and-paste photomontages allow for the pluralization in expressive modes of identity. Moore takes the photographs of Cahun, manipulates them, places them in such a way to create a new "Claude Cahun," and inserts them alongside the personal writings. In doing so, Moore makes viewers question which Cahun is real and which is fake, just as the writing also question.

Aveux non Avenus occupies a central place in Cahun's literary and photographic career, but also lends itself to a greater understanding of Cahun's, and by association Moore's, position within society. Lepelier notes the book's dominant themes: the impossible relationship, love caught between narcissism and alterity (homosexuality and heterosexuality); the ambivalence of the self-image in childhood; the representation of femininity in auto-eroticism and homosexuality; the self-portrait as a proper reflection of the self; the egoist stance in social individualism.¹¹⁶ The text and the photomontages are inherently linked as they echo and evoke one another, simply from their organization within the publication. Yet they are also oblique and allegorical and require the reader's attention. The 1920's avant-garde artists understood that photomontage was a means of infiltrating the picture of reality with its meaning, which was achieved through the juxtaposition of image with image, or image with text. By the time *Aveux non Avenus* was released Cahun and Moore were almost isolated in their use of photomontage; however, we see that their work still aligns well with the ideology of the Surrealists.¹¹⁷

Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau, note that Surrealist photography investigates and experiments with, "various techniques of rotation, distortion of the body, reflection, doubling, close-up, the burning of negative, and playing on the near-reversibility of the human form within

¹¹⁶ François Lepelier quoted in Shaw, *Reading Claude Cahun's Disavowals*, 43.

¹¹⁷ Rosalind Krauss, "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," *The MIT Press* 19 (1981): 19

the reversibility of the photographic negative – ways to create an image-world in which physical substance dissolves into the surrealist of near-substance.”¹¹⁸ The use of the photomontage is Cahun and Moore’s collective desire to free oneself from the limits imposed by a single photograph.¹¹⁹ The fracturing and compression of the pictorial plane associated with Surrealism in the photomontages support and replicate the staccato rhythm of the writing: this formal effect is coupled with the duo’s political and theoretical involvements for greater impact. The work in *Aveux non Avenus* exhibits a consistent approach to the treatment of representation and subjectivity in terms of conscious and unconscious desire. Thus it is representing the wish to recognize the importance of the connection of the inner psyche to the external material world. Moore and Cahun bring these otherwise unseen or unrecognized emotional states into visual reality through the photomontages in *Aveux non Avenus*.

Typical of broader trends in Surrealist photography, Cahun and Moore, too, suggest the inherent connection that photography holds with reality as a transfer of truth, that the medium is understood as a “photochemically processed trace causally connected to that thing in the world to which it refers in a manner parallel to that of fingerprints or footprints or the rings of water that cold glasses leave on tables.”¹²⁰ Breton wanted Surrealism to resolve the dualities of perception and representation, in that it should be dismissed that perception is truer to one’s immediate experience, while representation is nothing more than a copy, re-creation, or set of signs for an experience.¹²¹ In fracturing the notion of truth, compressing perception and representation, the photomontages in *Aveux non Avenus* create a new realm occupied only by Cahun’s assembled

¹¹⁸ Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau, “Surrealist Confession,” 4

¹¹⁹ Oberhuber, “Claude Cahun, Marcel Moore, Lise Deharme and the Surrealist Book,” 50

¹²⁰ Krauss “The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism,” 26

¹²¹ Ibid., 10. (Andre Breton, “Océanie” (1948), reprinted in Breton *Le Clé des champs*, Paris, Sagittaire 1953, 1973 edition, pg 278).

reality. This construction of space that exists somewhere between an idealized dream and the realism of the every day, allows Cahun to be displayed as splintered, atomized and dispersed only showing select aspects of her characteristics and not the entirety of the self. Moore selects and arranges the photographs, thereby creating “Claude Cahun” as a desirable identity.

In Chapter II of *Aveux non Avenus*, titled “Myself”, Cahun addresses the issue of self-love throughout the text and by the prefacing photomontage (Figure 18). Cahun references Narcissus multiple times throughout the chapter and includes a hand-held mirror within both the writing and image, alluding to self-adoration and love for one's self. The mirror, a popular symbol with Surrealists, makes reference to the nature of vision, the reality of self-image, the true reflection of the self, as well as being a traditional signifier of female vanity and narcissism.¹²² In the first few pages of this chapter Cahun writes,

Guillotine window. A sheet of glass. Where shall I put the silver? Here or there; in front of or behind the window?... Behind. I shut myself in just as much. I will know nothing of what is outside. At least I will know my face – and maybe that will be enough to please me.¹²³

Here Cahun separates herself from either a female or male identity, and questions displaying to the ‘front’ to please society, or ‘behind’ allowing for internal contemplation, thus creating a disconnect with society and those traditional notions of beauty. In her chapter in *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars* (2003), Latimer addresses the mirror as a signifier for narcissistic homoeroticism, stating, “the mirror (because it doubles and inverts the subject) still offers a serviceable (if tongue-in-cheek) metaphor for sexual inversion in general – and, by the same token, for Cahun’s partnership with Moore.”¹²⁴ Placed in the mirror, where one would

¹²² Doy, *Claude Cahun*, 57.

¹²³ Claude Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 25.

¹²⁴ Tirza True Latimer, “Looking Like a Lesbian,” in *The Modern Woman Revisited*, 136-137.

expect to see one's own reflection, is the strong gaze of Cahun, along with fragmentation of female legs, arms, and hands emerging from the black background. If the photomontage functioned similar to reality, then we would see Moore's reflection, as she is the one making the image. Yet, we see Cahun looking back at her, which signifies her desire for Cahun and she sees her as a part of herself. As viewers, we are asked to question the relationship between looking, at the self in the mirror, and being looked at, through sexual desire. This opposition is illustrated in the photomontage; the mirror is held at the top of the composition, in contrast with the large eye that occupies the bottom of the image. Both images contain reflections looking back at the viewer. The confrontational gaze from Cahun alludes to the "external presentation of the self, and the implication of the spectator – the other – in the construction of that self."¹²⁵

Cahun presents her gaze as powerful and uncompromising and asks the reader to question the notions of conventional female beauty by presenting her own interpretation of the Surrealist concept of convulsive beauty. The image simultaneously attracts and repels the viewer through confused fascination; "convulsive beauty not only stresses the formless and evokes the unrepresentable, as with the sublime, but it also mixes delight and dread, attention and repulsion."¹²⁶ Cahun interprets the body as an illusion, as ephemeral, and that beauty is a play of light reinforcing the transitory nature of her own presentation like the fracturing and reassembling of the human body both in reality and the world formed in the collage.¹²⁷

Convulsive beauty and female sexuality are addressed many times in Cahun's writing, as she

¹²⁵ Lasalle and Solomon-Godeau, "Surrealist Confession," 11

¹²⁶ Laura Bailey and Lizzie Thynne, "Beyond Representation: Claude Cahun's Monstrous Mischief-Making," *History of Photography* 29 (2005), 142. Convulsive beauty is discussed in Andre Breton's *What is Surrealism*, (Breton, Andre. Translated by David Gascoyne. 1974. *What is Surrealism?* New York: Haskell House Publishers)

¹²⁷ Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 30.

criticizes the use and desire of the female body by many male Surrealists as an overtly erotic spectacle.

It is apparent that Cahun is questioning her own views on the sexualization of the female body from her homosexual relationship with Moore. Cahun writes, "Already as a child I was playing this game of being an invalid...This is not without an ulterior motive...I shave my head, wrench out my teeth, my breasts – anything that is embarrassing or annoying to look at – stomach, ovaries, the brain, conscious and covered in cysts."¹²⁸ She asserts that her sexual and gender identity has been with her since childhood and is inherent to her nature, thus cannot be changed. Her references to different organs, some specifically female as something annoying noting her discomfort with the sexualization of her own body, but is in contradiction with her sexual desires connected with the female body.

Scholar of media studies, Carolyne Topdjian suggests in her 2007 article, that Cahun's attack on "such meaningful body parts as her breasts and ovaries not only reveals a struggle with gender conformity but also reveals a struggle with the correlation of "female" with "beautiful." That is, by complicating the perception of her body, gender, and subjectivity, Cahun is equally complicating the perception of beauty."¹²⁹ In defying physical traits that conventionally define the connection between "female" and "beautiful," Cahun depicts herself as an anomaly. American sexologist Ellis's theories on sexual inverts note how inverts might be visually distinguishable from a conventionally understood body. In *Aveux non Avenus*, Cahun mocks the sexological description of the 'invert' body as "unconventional,"

Superfluous breasts; irregular inefficacious teeth; eyes and hair of the most banal state; rather soft hands, but twisted and deformed. The oval head of a slave; the

¹²⁸ Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 30.

¹²⁹ Tropjian, "Shape-Shifting Beauty," 64.

forehead too high ... or too low; a nicely made nose of its type - a horrible type; too sensual a mouth ... the chin slightly prominent; and all over the body, barely outlined muscles.¹³⁰

Cahun's negative sentiment connected to physical appearance draws from already existing models of racial physiognomy and allows the analysis of the surface and interior of an individual body to become the biological determinant rather than social characteristics.¹³¹ Cahun fractures herself from the conventional binary of female and male through her criticism of sexology theories at the time, seen in the photomontage of Chapter II in *Aveux non Avenus* (Figure 19), and in her physical presentation in everyday life.

Whereas Chapter II addressed sexuality in broad terms, the fifth chapter in *Aveux non Avenus*, "M.R.M.", covers the topic of sex, directly addressing Cahun's romantic and artistic relationship with Moore. On the title page of the chapter, Cahun writes, "Everyday life this abomination! I exist and that comprises everything. Forgive me for existing."¹³² Here, Cahun directly and painfully recognizes that the basic qualities of her daily existence -- being in a same-sex relationship, Jewish, and gender nonconforming -- are not deemed socially acceptable; she asks for forgiveness. Throughout the entirety of the chapter Cahun addresses "you," assumed to be Malherbe/Moore, asserting the link to their homosexual relationship. In the photomontage (Figure 19) there are three iterations of the same double-exposure, progressing from the middle-left to the top-right of the composition. The element uses a portrait of a woman cropped close to the face overlaying an image of a body with outstretched arms. The blending of the two forms is representative of Cahun and Moore's connection through their relationship and the merging of their bodies physically. In the text Cahun writes,

¹³⁰ Cahun, 'Aveux non Avenus,' Leperlier, *Écrits*, 241.

¹³¹ Bailey and Thynne, "Beyond Representation," 142.

¹³² Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 82

I would like: To be sufficiently similar to you never to shock you, displease you, argue with you, ask for your pardon – or mercy. To be sufficiently different from you (and from me), vary enough, that you would recognize yourself in this man, from afar and from on high, ridicule without repercussions.¹³³

The text and image allude to the artistic relationship between these two women, in that they work closely to create representations of themselves.

Through the writing and imagery, Cahun questions her position within her own life and relationship with Moore through the desire of a different world. In the first pages of the chapter, Cahun states,

I was hoping that God would fashion a childlike world especially for the rest of us out of the leftovers of the universe, a varnished toy, shining, in colours without danger, image expurgated from life to be used by weaklings, innocents, soldiers discharged for spiritual deficiency, a world where forces of nature and basic instincts, pain and rotten pleasure and all feelings would be simple pretexts, decorative designs imitating earth and water; fire and air, flesh and blood...¹³⁴

Cahun expresses the desire for a world where she feels comfortable in her identity as a sexual invalid, a deviant, and an anomaly, ultimately a space where the outer world and her inner identity can co-exist. Cahun, dissatisfied with God's lack of an idealized world, specifically manufactures an alternative world of her own design in the photomontages allowing her to fully embrace the odd and absurd, although still depicting it in a way that is beautiful and enticing to readers. In the top left corner of the photomontage is written, "J'ci le bourreau prend des airs de victime. Mais tu sais à quoi t'en tenir."¹³⁵ Referencing an executioner and the act of an execution suggests the separated nature that Cahun feels within herself, and adds to the fractured separation of heads from bodies present in the photomontages.

¹³³ Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 97.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 87.

¹³⁵ Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 85. "Here the executioner takes on the air of a victim. But you know what to do with it." Translated by author.

Looking back to Chapter II, Cahun refers to the mirror as a “guillotine window.” The separation of the head from the body can be understood as the separation from the intellectual and the physical operations of the body, where one does not rely on the other. Another main component in the photomontage are the large lips found just off center that pivot around a central point: two are removed and fall towards the bottom left corner. The lips create the illusion of a flower losing its petals that I have connected to the childhood game “The Daisy Oracle,” connecting one’s contemplation of love and the Surrealist interest in elements of chance.¹³⁶ References to childhood and “two obedient children” coupled with the inclusion of this game of chance, suggest that Cahun is not only asking “he/she loves me, he/she loves me not,” but is also contemplating the moral and even legal legitimacy of her love for Moore, asking “is this right, is this wrong.”¹³⁷ Cahun questions her position as a homosexual woman as morally correct in a society that imprisons homosexuals, her position in her relationship with Moore, and her position with her presentation as gender nonconforming.

In one of the closing chapters, IX, titled “I.O.U.” Cahun focuses on the topic of self-pride. Costume and masks in the photomontage convey the message of a hidden self under a façade. As described by Gen Doy, author of *Claude Cahun: A Sensual Politics of Photography*, the mask hides Cahun’s eyes obstructing the gaze to the viewers, “emphasizing this tension between

¹³⁶ Wolfgang Mieder, *Tradition and Innovation in Folk Literature*, (Hanover: Published for University of Vermont by University Press of New England, 1987): 84. The Daisy Oracle, refers to the childhood game where one picks the petals from a flower, typically a daisy, asking ‘he loves me,’ ‘he loves me not’ it is believed to be of French origins, and it can be assumed that Cahun was well aware of this game. “There exists a long history of love oracles or divinations, and in all European languages one can find the custom of counting out cherry stones, apple pips, buttons, beads, or petals of a daisy to find out such things as whether one is loved, whom one is going to marry, or what profession the person will have.”

¹³⁷ Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus*, 88.

looking (traditionally equated with knowledge) and appearance (only one aspect of meaning).”¹³⁸

Cahun wears a constructed mask to hide her true self, notably her sexual identity. In the collage prefacing the chapter (Figure 20) Cahun/Moore writes, “Sous ce masque un autre masque. Je n’en finirai pas de soulever tous ces visages.”¹³⁹ While in the photomontage viewers see eleven layered images of Cahun’s face emerging from a single neck. The mask is a significant element within the field of psychoanalysis, for example, Levi-Strauss

links the mask and split representation in the visual arts to the notion of split representation in a social and cultural sense, referring to dualism (the split between mind and body) in doing so...Splits were primarily located, by Freud and others not inside and outside, the self and society, but within the psyche itself.¹⁴⁰

Cahun’s introductory statement, along with the photographic image, suggests her feelings of having to hide her true self underneath different faces in the attempt to gain full understanding, as well as the desire to match her external appearance with her internal identity. In the 1929 psychoanalytic essay, “Womanliness as a Masquerade,” Joan Riviere argues that womanliness can be assumed and worn as a mask hiding the possession of masculinity. Masks represent a trope for the absence of woman from cultural practices.¹⁴¹ Despite growing legal toleration of homosexuality within private life, public displays of dandyism and homosexuality were not well accepted and subject to self-censorship. In this culture, Cahun was required to wear a mask of femininity.¹⁴² She writes about the choiceless confines of one’s appearance:

Description

Average forehead
Average eyes
Average intelligence

¹³⁸ Doy, *Claude Cahun*, 43

¹³⁹ “Under this mask another mask. I will never stop lifting all these faces.” Translated by author.

¹⁴⁰ Doy, *Claude Cahun*, 49.

¹⁴¹ Lusty, *Surrealism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*. 90.

¹⁴² Doy, *Claude Cahun*, 43-47.

Sensitivity – not very apparent
Big ears
Expressive lips, flexible tongue
Agile hands, hands of a juggler – for Olympia or pickpocketing
DISTINGUISHING FEATURE: A lifeline running right round the thumb.

On this line of eternity, without beginning or end, where nevertheless whole worlds appear and disappear, the race of seven-day circuits began so long ago that the sun and the moon (referees and runners) have lost count of how many times they've been around.¹⁴³

The 'life line' from palm reading references one's life quality, and different characteristics of the line have different meanings. A line "running right round the thumb" and creating a circle suggests infinity. Cahun even refers to it as "this line of eternity, without beginning or end,"¹⁴⁴ reinforcing her ideas that personal characteristics are created at birth and continued constantly through one's life. Cahun considers her physical appearance as average or undesired, yet it lasts for eternity and is destined from birth. Through this photomontage and the text, as Shaw suggests, we see the "image not only as Cahun's commentary on her own subjectivity, but also the attempt by Moore and Cahun to image an alternative to the contemporary assumptions of artistic and romantic relationships between creativity and desire."¹⁴⁵ Cahun uses the endless play of masks to hide her, "average forehead, average eyes, average intelligence, and big ears," and exist within her personally designed world. She is piecing it together like the photomontage where the feminine and masculine aspects of herself allow her to maintain her partnership with Moore.

¹⁴³ Cahun, *Aveux non Avenus (Disavowals)*, 189.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 26. In Chapter II, "Myself" Cahun references another symbol for infinity by stating, "May my serpent grip its tail between its teeth without letting go." The symbol of a snake biting its own tail, the oroboros, originates from Norse Mythology and Alchemy and is a symbol for cycles, everlasting life, and infinity.

¹⁴⁵ Shaw, "Singular Plural" 157.

In this photomontage (Figure 20) Cahun positions one of her most recognizable images, the weight lifter, in the bottom right corner of the composition (Figure 21). Here Cahun wears the costume of a weight lifter with “I am in training, don’t kiss me” handwritten on the shirt. Elements associated with femininity contrast with elements of masculinity; blending the iconography of curls, eyes, lips, and hearts on her overly made-up face appears as a plaster doll and the fiction of “Me-as-Female.” Her challenge to traditional femininity is compounded by the stereotypical pout and the play between the prominent nipples on the costume and the androgynous black shorts.¹⁴⁶ Cahun was involved in Surrealist avant-garde theater and uses dress and costumes to assume the identity of other persons. Cahun’s performance of gender creates an unnatural being that conflicts with the cultural narrative of the beautiful, feminine, and eroticized female body.

The variety of costumes Cahun used in her portraits (see Figure 21), “reveals a fascination with the way in which clothes themselves can consciously create gendered ambiguity and which reflects a widespread shift in women’s fashion and the confusion of reading dress codes as signs of sexual identity.”¹⁴⁷ In the photomontage we see only the upper torso of Cahun as the hyper-feminine weight-lifter positioned in opposition to the masculine ‘masks’ on the left side of the composition, further compressing the understood and accepted gender binary. Dandyism and feminine masculinity were becoming more apparent in both hetero- and homosexual women, which are represented in the two elements of the photomontage. Cahun utilizes costumes in her photographic images as a tool of liberation and silent rebellion allowing her the ability to

¹⁴⁶ Miranda Welby-Everard, “Imagining the Actor: The Theatre of Claude Cahun,” *Oxford Art Journal* 29 (2006): 9.

¹⁴⁷ Lusty, *Surrealism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*, 98-99.

alternate between hyper-feminine and overly masculine.¹⁴⁸ Through her blending of feminine and masculine, Cahun creates a fabricated world through her photographic images. Her masked and costumed self can exist without the disruption or scrutiny that would occur if Cahun were fully herself in public, thereby hiding her homosexuality and oddity from the reality that surrounds her.

The photomontages, the blending of Cahun's self-images, and the politically and theoretically charged writing provide a visual representation of an imaginary world that is constructed for her own existence. Lusty points out that this "was, for Cahun, not a parallel universe, but fundamental to the lived reality of the historical subject. As such the excessive desire for self-invention and renewal that we witness in the portrait mirrors a radical commitment to political and social transformation."¹⁴⁹ Cahun, and by extension Moore, both use the practice of photomontage to engage in the philosophical and psychoanalytic understanding of the self in terms of gender, sexuality, class, race, and religion. Cahun's constructed world, seen through mirrors, fractured bodies, dream-like creations, and disguised portraits, allow the exploration of identity free from the realities of the outside world. The utopian dreamscape of the collages investigates issues of narcissism and otherness, female homosexuality, dandyism, and aestheticism. In going beyond gender, individual and social critique, they mock antiquated views of art and writing, accepting and breaking taboos, while allowing for other departures from the accepted norm. The photomontages utilize overlapping, fragmentation, fusion, and replication of body parts and faces to announce a self that is in constant transition and transformation, thus representing the shape-shifting nature of the self for Cahun and Moore's desire for Cahun. In

¹⁴⁸ Krauss, "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," 26.

¹⁴⁹ Lusty, *Surrealism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*, 90.

Cahun's writing, we become aware of an 'I' that is not static. Through her assemblage of different sources there is not a consistent voice, but one that often shifts, like her interpretation of her identity from masculine to feminine, from first, to second, then third person.

The Soldier without a Name

In March 1937, Cahun and Moore moved to the Isle of Jersey, a small island off the northwestern coast of France where the families had vacationed often when they were young. They presented themselves as sisters and again took up their birth names, Lucy Schwob and Suzanne Malherbe. As mid-June 1940 approached it seemed certain to the women the Nazi regime would invade the Channel Islands, and many inhabitants of the Isle of Jersey fled to the English mainland for safety. In a letter, Moore explained that the pair decided to stay on the island because the "potential for resistance against the Nazis was much greater on Jersey."¹⁵⁰ This allowed for a last successful collaborative project, *The Soldier without A Name*, as the two women dared to disrupt and subvert the Nazi regime and soldiers who were stationed on the Isle of Jersey. In her memoirs, Cahun called their counter-propaganda campaign "an individual battle together," reminiscent of the individual and collaborative mode of creation seen in many of their projects.¹⁵¹

The Soldier without A Name consists of leaflets written mostly in German but also in Czech, Greek, Spanish, Russian, and Italian. In order to give the impression that the typewriter used was being passed from person to person and a larger international conspiracy was in place. Cahun also varied the pressure she used on the typewriter keys to add to the illusion that a larger

¹⁵⁰ Claude Cahun, "Confidences au Miroir," quoted in Shaw, *Reading Claude Cahun's Disavowals*, 218.

¹⁵¹ Shaw, *Reading Claude Cahun's Disavowals*, 218.

operation existed. The leaflets were distributed in a variety of ways: placed in empty cigarette boxes that would be picked up by civilians and German soldiers looking for tobacco, pinned on barbed wire fences, and even posted to German officer's letterboxes. Thynne notes that it was Cahun who originally came up with the idea of creating a persona for the project. Moore initially had reservations and questioned using 'without a name' ('ohne Namen'), because beginning with 'Namenlos' ('nameless') would have been correct German. *The Soldier without A Name* recalls, but differs from 'The Unknown Soldier,' as the symbolic figure who represented the countless dead from World War One. Instead, as Thynne suggests, by titling the work *The Soldier without A Name* it is "irreverent, refusing to lay down his life in the name of a dubious patriotism, debunking the rhetoric that justifies the war and exposing it as futile and exploitative."¹⁵² The two women would write tongue-in-cheek statements on the leaflets such as "Without End" referencing how the war seemed endless. The two would also visit the nearby St. Brelade Catholic Church cemetery used by the Germans to bury their dead. At night they placed cardboard crosses on the graves of Nazi soldiers and painted ironic statements, such as "For them the war is over," to undermine the German soldier's belief in the war. For one soldier the war ended, but for other soldiers and civilians the war continued. By the end of the war, Cahun and Moore had placed 245 of their decorated crosses on gravesites.

The two women conducted this campaign from their home on St Brelade's Bay next to the Hotel where the Luftwaffe was stationed. Cahun suspected their close proximity to the German soldiers would ultimately protect them from suspicion. It was not until linguistic

¹⁵² Lizzie Thynne, "Indirect Action: Politics and the Subversion of Identity in Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore's Resistance to the Occupation of Jersey," *Papers of Surrealism*, 8 (2008): 10-16.

mistakes in the leaflets were noticed that the Secret Police (Gaheime Feldpolizei) thought effort was from someone outside their own ranks. As Thynne has suggested, the German soldier's failure to identify Cahun and Moore as the masterminds behind the propaganda can be attributed to "the German investigator's misguided assumptions about gender, class, and race and their stereotyped notions of who would be capable of opposing them so persistently."¹⁵³

The combination of both women's skills, Cahun's words, and Moore's German made this resistance successful. Had Cahun worked alone, without knowledge of German, it would not make such a meaningful impact on the German soldiers. Similarly, if Moore worked without Cahun, the text would not have a lighthearted and playful tone that Cahun brings with her play on language. One example of their leaflets (Figure 22) shows how they worked to disrupt the Nazi soldiers on the island. In the drawing, there is a person that has no identifying features and is standing in a sinking boat. The boat is titled 'Das Reich' and flies a flag bearing the Nazi swastika. The sinking of the boat directly reflects Cahun and Moore's goals of sinking the Nazi regime. The drawing itself is rudimentary and child-like and looks nothing like Moore's bold graphic style of work seen in previous projects like *Vues et Visions*. Among the chaotic sea waves are two creatures, representative of the two women who, like the creatures, are attempting to dismantle the Third Reich. The German text, written by Moore below the drawn image, is also written in a scribbled manner rather than the crisp fashion a trained designer might typically use. Undoubtedly Cahun and Moore were attempting to disguise that they were the two producing the leaflets.

¹⁵³ Lizzie Thynne, "Indirect Action," 10-16.

Cahun was so devoted to her resistance project she adopted ‘The Soldier without A Name’ as a persona, and created a series of images where she is dressed as the “character.” In *Untitled* (Cahun as Soldier without A Name) (Figure 23), we see Cahun standing in her garden with plants behind her dressed in tall boots, pants, and a jacket resembling military regalia. She stands on a cement platform with the word ‘PRIVATE’ legible under her feet, and her beloved cat along with a small skull facing away from her is seen on the edge of the photographic frame. Her head is tilted upwards in an overly confident manner, and she holds a cigarette in her right hand close to her mouth. Cahun stands with an air of defiant arrogance just as The Soldier without A Name would as they actively confront and work to dismantle the Nazi regime. Not only does Cahun take on the character of The Soldier without A Name in this photograph, but she also adopts the mannerisms and body language associated with this type of person. Again similar to her other portraits, we can assume that Moore was behind the camera and captured Cahun as The Soldier without A Name.

From the beginning of the German occupation, Cahun and Moore refused to follow certain Nazi orders. Moore had learned German as a child from a governess, but never registered that she was fluent in the language, and Cahun, due to her father’s heritage, refused to follow the 1940 order for all Jews to register and identify themselves as such. Historian and specialist in women’s resistance in France during World War II, Claire Follain suggests a number of reasons why Cahun did not register herself as Jewish. First, her contempt for Nazi authorities was obvious; secondly, she and Moore objected to the social division of subgroups; and, lastly, she

never connected herself with any structured religion. Though her father was Jewish, Cahun was interested in Christianity, Buddhism, and other religions in a strictly intellectual capacity.¹⁵⁴

The Nazi regime also restricted the use of radios and, in 1942, required the registration of radios for citizens on the Isle of Jersey. The pair registered the two radios they owned, but also acquired a new and unregistered one that was used in secret. In March 1944, Claude Cahun received a summons to appear before the Nazi regime. Recalling this moment in a letter to Gaston Feriere she wrote, “the order made me think: 1- that they were suspicious of me regarding the tracts, though they were without proof; 2- that they were looking into me in relation to information about my family which came from France; 3- that the German sound of my name intrigued them.”¹⁵⁵ Cahun presented herself in front of the Nazi court as an old woman, “I went there unrecognizable as Lucy Schwob. I lived just as usual, under my appearance of Claude Cahun. The bureaucrats apologized to the old lady in black who looked so ill.”¹⁵⁶ Cahun presented herself in a very calculated manner not to be detected when actively attempting to undermine the German war efforts.

The two were arrested for their propagandist anti-Nazi efforts after officers found a pamphlet in a bag at their home after they had distributed them in the town that morning. Cahun and Moore has earlier decided that if they were arrested for their anti-Nazi propaganda campaign they would mutually commit suicide by taking barbiturate tablets. Cahun wrote,

¹⁵⁴ Claire Follain, ‘Lucy Schwob and Suzanne Malherbe - Résistantes’, in Louise Downie, Claude Cahun, and Suzanne Malherbe, *Don't Kiss Me: The Art of Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore*, (New York, N.Y: Aperture Foundation, 2006), 86.

¹⁵⁵ Claude Cahun, Lettre a Gaston Feriere, 704. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 222.

¹⁵⁶ Claude Cahun, Letter to Marianne, 13 August 1948, Jersey Heritage Site, Claude Cahun Archive. Quoted in Doy, *Claude Cahun*, 83.

Would we let them deport us, degrade us? NO. With the risk we are running, we deliberately opposed to deportation: 'In case of arrest, suicide.' In a little innocuous box ('Milk of Magnesia tablets') a 'mortal' dose of Gardenal (these sleeping pills looked almost the same as stomach pills). We had never distributed out papers without carrying our Gardenal with us.¹⁵⁷

While in separate isolation cells for the duration of their imprisonment, they each attempted suicide multiple times. They were not aware if the other was alive or dead. In her unpublished memoirs, Cahun writes about her love for Moore and their planned suicide,

I love Suzanne's laugh; for me it is one of a kind. She was the one I thought of every day. It was she that I saw in the KWH (military prison) and the 25 July 1944 (before falling asleep...to die with her, or so we thought...in the same sleep) and saw again on the 10 August unchanged. If we were separated, sufficiently isolated from one another...we would have less power to oppose our adversaries than with a unified front.¹⁵⁸

Cahun and Moore were linked not only in their artistic practice but also in every aspect of their lives. For Cahun, Moore added to the success of their work by creating a "unified front." Similar to their other projects like *Vues et Visions* and *Aveux non Avenus*, the combination of writing and image, Cahun and Moore, the performer and the creator, create stronger work when they combine their talents instead of when they create work individually. The intimacy of Cahun's letters and memoirs, when directed to Moore, places their relationship beyond the simplicity of an artistic collaboration. They decided to forgo individual artistic careers for their collaborative projects, and in doing so created compelling works in text and image.

After a delayed trial due to their suicide attempts, Cahun and Moore were sentenced to death for propaganda against the German forces, as well as sentenced to six years of penal

¹⁵⁷ Claude Cahun, *Lettre a Paul Levy*, 724. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 226-227.

¹⁵⁸ Leperlier, *Claude Cahun: L'Exotisme interieur*, 404. Quoted in Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 220-230.

servitude for listening to BBC radio broadcasting, and another six months for possessing arms and a camera.

Upon their release from prison on May 8, 1945, the same day the island was liberated, the two returned to their home to find it pillaged and ransacked by the Nazi soldiers. In *Exist Otherwise*, Shaw notes, "their library, artwork, mementos, clothing, furniture, knick-knacks, everything in the house that express[ed] its identity and the identity of its inhabitants was gone." Not only was their home stripped of all its belongings, including electrical wire, locks and keys, and doorknobs, but all the materials collected as evidence for their trial was burned during the liberation along with the entirety of the archives at the military prison. These materials included: one of the original plates for *Aveux non Avenus*, photomontages, letters, and more of the women's personal belongings.¹⁵⁹ Cahun and Moore attempted to re-establish what they could of their lives on the Isle of Jersey after the Nazi occupation, yet they felt alienated by a community that supported the German war efforts. In addition to letters sent to friends, Cahun also began to write a memoir of the occupation that was meant for publication but was never finished before her death. Moore also provided evidence of their experiences, though not as extensive as Cahun's. She gave a public interview to the *Jersey Evening Post* only a few weeks after the island's liberation, and gives a first-hand account of their activities during the occupation.¹⁶⁰ They continued to make photographic images that, like before, focused on Cahun as the subject. After her death in 1954, and Moore's in 1972, what remained of their work slowly disappeared from the spotlight, and upon its discovery was initially misidentified as the work of a man.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Shaw, *Exist Otherwise*, 259.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 198-199.

¹⁶¹ Topdjian, "Shape-Shifting Beauty," 65.

CONCLUSION

For Marcel Moore, the identity of "Claude Cahun" existed beyond the confining structures of a photographic frame or a published text. After Cahun's death, Moore inscribed, "And I saw new heavens and a new earth," on the headstone they would share after Moore's own suicide in 1972. The phrase is a biblical excerpt from Revelations 21:1 that reads, "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and there was no longer any sea."¹⁶² The two women worked together to create various art projects in support of their constructed identities, thus forming an idealized new heaven and earth for themselves. The world they were born into, the world of Lucy Schwob and Suzanne Malherbe, could not sustain their talents and the desire the two women had for one another.

In the publications of *Vues et Visions* (1915-1919) and *Aveux non Avenus* (1930), Moore's illustrations and photomontages respectively illustrate Cahun's writings and contribute to the overall understanding of the artworks. The text without the images would not be as successful in conveying the desired message to readers, and similarly, as if the images had existed without the text. Moore captures the woman she most desires within the photographic image, thus creating Claude Cahun and placing her within a realm of believability. Identity Theory, as theorized by Peter Burke, recognizes the influence of society, people, and events on one's identity. This contributes to the argument that the identity of "Claude Cahun" is as much a creation from Marcel Moore's desires as it is from Lucy Schwob. Moore desires the androgynous, the deviant, the 'Other' that Cahun represents in her photographs.

¹⁶² Bible Hub, Revelations 21:1, accessed March 6, 2018, <http://biblehub.com/revelation/21-1.htm>.

Often, scholars overlook Moore when looking at their joint works, as Cahun is the one positioned front and center just as she is placed in front of the camera. Moore is trapped in reflections and shadows within photographs allowing scholars to overlook her importance in the collaborative equation. Her involvement and impact in Cahun's artistic practice and life from an early age requires scholars to pay attention to her importance. This research comes at a time when scholarship is giving more attention to the contributions of models and assistants of artists, that have until now, been ignored. It is often overlooked that the models of great male photographers (i.e. Lee Miller to Man Ray, and Tina Modotti to Edward Weston) were successful photographers or artists in their own right.¹⁶³ The newly realized importance of the "assistants" in the creation of the "master's" works is also applied to Cahun and Moore.

Through their creative process and collaborative artistic projects Moore and Cahun reinforce their adopted identities by placing them prominently on display. Addressing and placing focus on the artistic collaboration of Moore and Cahun emphasizes and legitimizes their intimate relationship. By collaboratively creating artwork and by defying social norms, Marcel Moore created a new heaven and a new earth for "Claude Cahun" to exist as the person that both women desired.

¹⁶³ For more information see Chadwick, Whitney, *Farewell to the Muse: Love, War and the Women of Surrealism* (New York, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2017), Chadwick, Whitney. "The Muse as Artist: Women in the Surrealist Movement," *Art in America*, (1985): 120, and Higgins, Gary, *Truth, Myth and Erasure: Tina Modotti and Edward Weston*, Vol 28, Tempe, Arizona: School of Art, Arizona State University, 1991.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Claude Cahun (L'Image de la Femme)*, 1913. Gelatin silver print. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 2: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Vues et Visions* pages 98-99, 1915-1919, Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 3: Marcel Moore, *Untitled* (Fashion Drawing), c. 1917. Pencil drawing. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 4: Chana Orloff, *Bust of Claude Cahun*, 1921. Gelatin silver print. Image from Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive, original bronze sculpture destroyed. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 5: Marcel Moore, *Judith*, c. 1925. Pen and ink drawing. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 6: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Cahun in Paris Apartment*, 1923. Gelatin silver print. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.

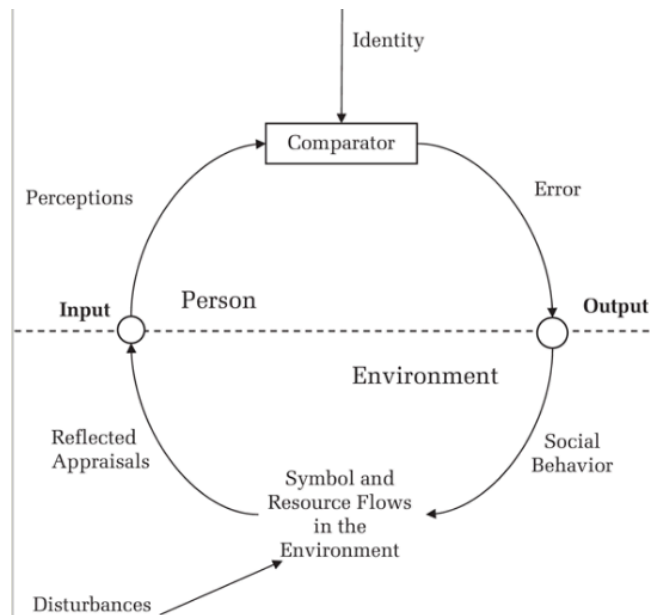


Figure 7: Peter Burke, *Identity Model*, in Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory*. Oxford; New York;: Oxford University Press, 2009.

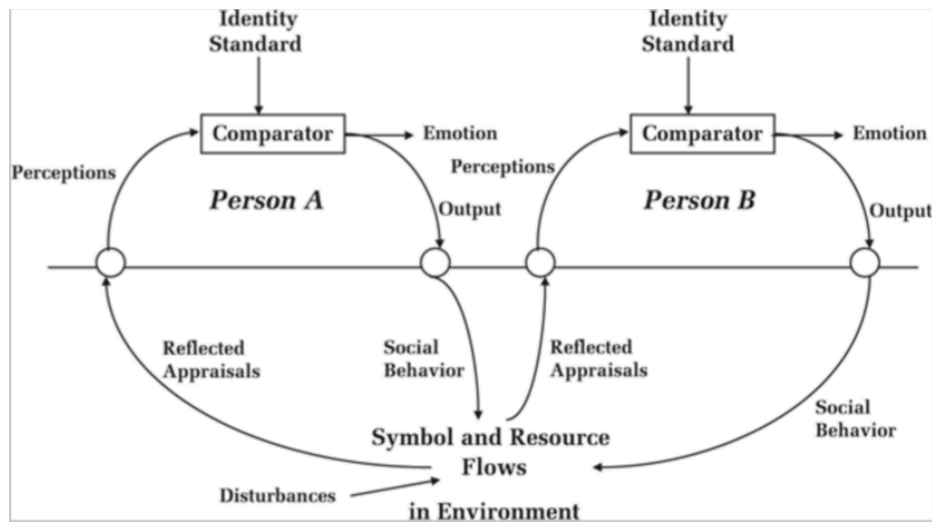


Figure 8: Peter Burke, *Identity for Two Interacting Persons*, in Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory*. Oxford; New York;: Oxford University Press, 2009.

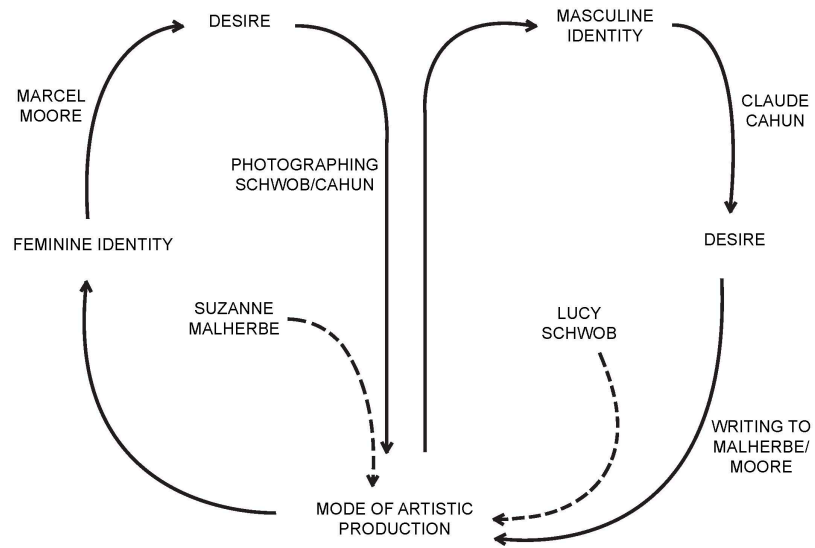


Figure 9: Erin Pustarfi, *Marcel Moore and Claude Cahun Desire Model*, 2018.



Figure 10: Man Ray, *Duchamp as Rose Sélavy*, ca. 1921. Silver gelatin print. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia Pennsylvania.



Figure 11: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Self-Portrait*, 1928, 1928. Gelatin silver print. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 12: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Marcel Moore*, 1928. Gelatin silver print. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.

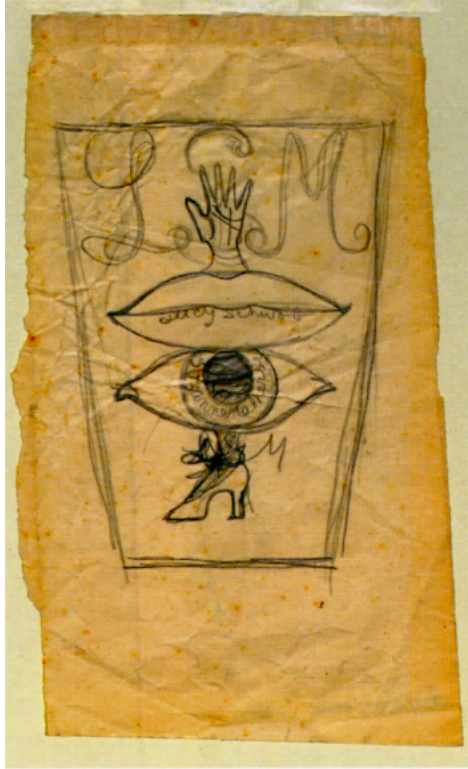


Figure 13: Claude Cahun, *Duogram Drawing*, 1919. Pencil drawing. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site
Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 14: Yves Tanguy, Joan Miró, Max Morise, and Man Ray, *Cadavre Exquis*, 1927.
Composite drawing of ink, pencil, and colored pencil on paper. Museum of Modern Art, New
York City, New York.



Figure 15: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Self-Portrait*, 1927. Gelatin silver print. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 16: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Portrait, Isle of Jersey*, 1938. Gelatin silver print. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.

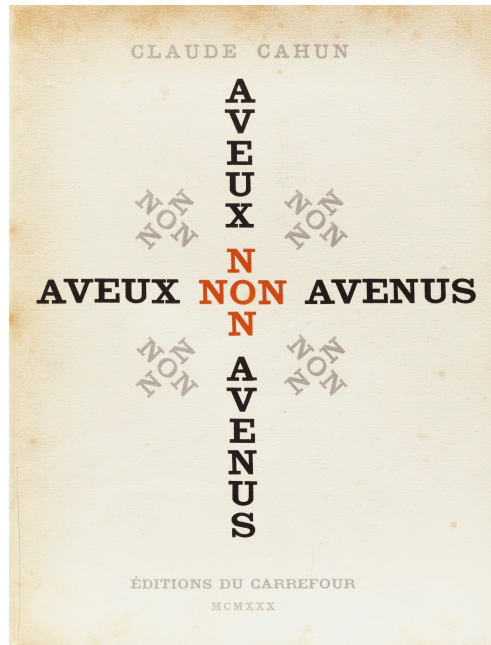


Figure 17: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Aveux non Avenus* (Cover), 1930. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 18: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Photomontage prefacing Chapter II, Aveux non Avenus*, 1930. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. In book *Disavowals*. London: Tate Publishing, 2007. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 19: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Photomontage prefacing Chapter V, Aveux non Avenus*, 1930. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. In book *Disavowals*. London: Tate Publishing, 2007. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 20: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Photomontage prefacing Chapter IX, Aveux non Avenus*, 1930. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. In book *Disavowals*. London: Tate Publishing, 2007. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 21: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore). *Self-Portrait c.1927*. 1927. Silver Gelatin Print. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 22: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), Leaflet (Soldier without A Name), pencil drawing, c. 1940. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.



Figure 23: Claude Cahun (Marcel Moore), *Untitled* (Cahun as Soldier without A Name), c. 1947. Isle of Jersey Heritage Site Claude Cahun Archive. Copyrights held by Jersey Heritage Site.

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